Church and social problems
(Rec'd 1931)

The
World Tomorrow

MAY, 1931

FROM
DEPARTMENT of SOCIAL RELATIONS
112 EAST 19TH STREET
NEW YORK CITY

the CHURCH on WAR and PEACE

The Opinions of 19,372 Clergymen

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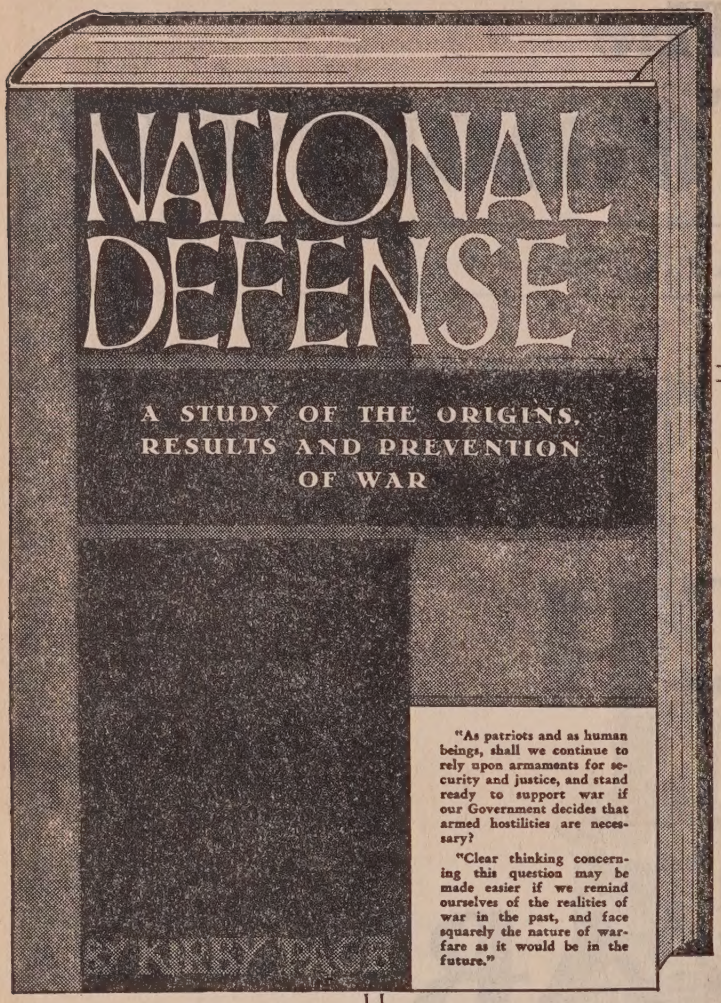
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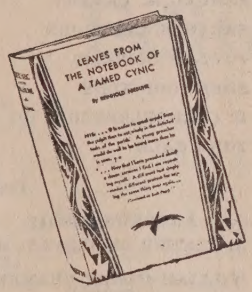

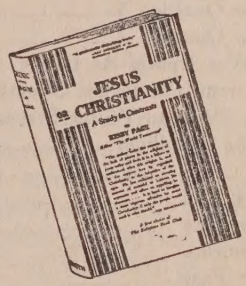

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VOL. XIV MAY, 1931 No. 5

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Can the Church Stop War?
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Carrie Chapman Catt
John Haynes Holmes

War Resistance Old and New
Devere Allen

What Can High School Boys Do About War?
Abel J. Gregg

Milwaukee: A Well Governed City
B. Charney Vladeck

That Justice May Be Done: *The Story of Oliver Wendell Holmes*

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County of New York, }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared A. Albert MacLeod, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE WORLD TOMORROW, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV May, 1931 No. 5

Editorials

Can the Church Stop War?

"What a silly question! Why spend an evening in discussing it when the answer is so obviously in the negative?" This was the response of Harold J. Laski as he glanced at an invitation to THE WORLD TOMORROW semi-annual dinner announcing Harry Emerson Fosdick, Carrie Chapman Catt, and John Haynes Holmes as speakers on this theme. The retort of this brilliant political economist is typical of the attitude of many students of international affairs. Although wars of religion as such were abandoned centuries ago, the churches have been so consistent in supporting all the wars waged by secular states for more than a thousand years that it seems futile to expect them to take the lead in abolishing war.

Yet it is not foolish to talk about the question for the reason that a revolution in chuchmen's thinking on the subject is now in process. The churches long upheld slavery, but they also nurtured, and often disowned, many of the abolitionists and other anti-slavery leaders. In England and in the Northern States of America the churches in the end assumed effective leadership against chattel slavery.

The summary of the replies to the questionnaire on war and peace which appears in this issue sheds light on the state of mind prevalent among the clergymen of the country. Due allowance must be made, of course, for the inadequacies of the questionnaire method, for uncertainties and errors, and for the incompleteness of yes or no answers to complex questions. But even if the tables are interpreted with conservatism and caution, the tale they tell is clear and unmistakable. Thousands of clergymen are breaking away from the war system. When 17,700 individuals, or 91 per cent of those who responded, give permission to have their replies made public, and a total of 12,076 persons express the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war, and 10,427 ministers state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants—surely there is justification for saying that a revolution in attitude is occurring.

Perhaps of even greater significance ultimately is the trend of thinking in theological seminaries. It is true that young ministers tend to become more conservative as their responsibilities become heavier. But the significance of the following percentages cannot easily be explained away: 79 per cent of the replies from seminaries express the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war; 72 per cent of the individuals take the pacifist position by stating that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants; 89 per cent favor drastic reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do; and only 27 per cent say they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains on active duty in wartime.

Suppose that a considerable proportion of the clergymen of the nation take a firm stand against the war system. Can they do anything that will be effective in preventing another war? Yes, for the reason that morale is all-important in modern war. The united and enthusiastic support of a nation's citizens is essential to success. The passionate conviction that war is absolutely necessary in order to protect women and children, safeguard property, and uphold noble ideals is essential to high morale. The churches have always been relied upon to hallow the combat with the stamp of morality and religion. If the Government knew in advance that a large percentage of ministers would go to jail rather than support another war, it would be doubly eager to find a pacific solution for all disputes with other nations.

But, it will be asked, could our Government by itself prevent war? What assurance have we that some other nation will not attack us? That raises the question as to whether the United States is in any serious danger of invasion. Not unless the citizens of the invading country are convinced that they are fighting in self-defense. If the British or Japanese fleet should be demolished and its army disbanded, would the United States loot and destroy London or Tokyo? No, for we are not that kind of people. We do intervene with armed force in undeveloped countries, but

our motives are disguised as those of "a civilizing mission." Likewise, the British or Germans or Japanese have no intention whatever of invading our shores.

If the United States goes to war again, it will probably be as the result of a quarrel over property rights abroad or on the high seas. If a sufficient number of ministers interpret to their congregations the significance of economic disputes between nations, and urge that the practice of defending property by slaughtering women and children in the enemy country be abandoned and reliance placed in international agencies of justice, they can profoundly affect governmental policies.

It is highly significant, moreover, that multitudes of ministers are now taking the position that no matter what may be the reasons for war or the explanations offered by governments, the *methods* of war are utterly indefensible on moral and religious grounds. The use of airplanes and poison gas against the enemy, the arousing of fear and hatred by false propaganda, and the subordination of spiritual attitudes and practices to the gospel of military necessity are obviously irreconcilable with the religion of Jesus. The weapons of war do not protect the helpless. For every innocent person safeguarded by war, from ten to a thousand other innocent people are killed. It is for these reasons that thousands of clergymen are saying *now* that they will not sanction or support any future war.

Professor Einstein expressed the opinion that if two per cent of the population of the respective countries would refuse to sanction or support war, it would be exceedingly difficult or impossible for governments to wage war. In the United States the churches are taking the lead along this line. The record of clergymen on economic problems, racial questions, and other social issues is often distressing. But with regard to war and peace, ministers are rapidly awakening. After the reader examines the summary tables herein, let him ask the question: Among the members of what other large group in the United States is there as widespread and determined opposition to the war system as among clergymen?

Sixty-Four Ministers Renounce War

During the sessions of the Pastors' Conference of New York held at Syracuse recently, the following resolution was circulated for signatures:

> We pastors of churches in the State of New York, assembled in annual conference, being aware of the critical conditions prevailing in international relations, and that our nation has joined other nations in the Pact of Paris, by which we have mutually and solemnly agreed never again to resort to war as a method of settling international disputes, therefore pledge ourselves to work conscientiously for a major reduction of armaments to be achieved through the forthcoming world disarmament conference, and to work incessantly in our communities for the adoption of peace machinery by our government; in particular, arbitration and conciliation through the World Court and the League of Nations. Furthermore, *we pledge ourselves not to sanction or participate in any future war.*

This statement was signed by sixty-four ministers and copies were forwarded to the President, the Secretary of State and the two senators from New York. This is simply one more illustration of the way the churches are disentangling themselves from the war system. Let the good work go on!

Conference and Coercion

India has not yet won its freedom and there may still be a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip. Nevertheless, such a solid advance has been made in Anglo-Indian relations that there is some justification for looking upon the history of the past year as a lesson in the strategy of social change. All underprivileged groups, all classes and races who suffer from the oppression and autocracy of stronger groups, may learn something from the recent conduct of India.

Perhaps the outstanding lesson is the relation of conference to coercion in the matter of social change. Gandhi wisely refused to go to the London conference at the price of giving up his non-violence campaign. Had he done so, he would have gone with nothing to match the power of empire. Weak groups do not often persuade strong groups to divest themselves of some of their privilege merely by sitting down at the table with them. Conference enthusiasts who think that roundtables are a method of social change because all conflict is a result of misunderstanding, which the roundtable will resolve, are usually sentimentalists who have little conception of the realities of the social struggle. Instead of going to London, Gandhi spent the year developing his non-violence campaign into a threat against imperial interests. In passing, it might be well to note that he used the kind of force which is most likely to be compatible with moral suasion. Violence embitters the foe and makes him less than ever amenable to reason, while non-violent force allows the educational process to continue. The fact that it is non-violent ought not to obscure the coercive character of it. A strategy which embodies the boycott is something more than "soul force," as the idle mill hands in Manchester can testify. Here, at any rate, is a coercive factor in the social struggle. Men are not so imaginative in their larger relationships to be able to dispense with the coercive factor and reduce the struggle to pure suasion.

On the other hand, if the London conference had not been held, if some one had not gone to it, even if the delegates who did go hardly represented embattled India, the campaign in India alone would not have produced the results now attainable. The conference provided an opportunity to register the

changes which took place in the minds of English leaders and Indian princes as a result of the campaign, and it created the basis of an understanding which would have been unthinkable without such discussion. Moreover, it was augmented by still another conference—the one between Lord Irwin and Gandhi, —in which the importance of spiritual and moral qualities in the leaders of contending interest groups became apparent. If Lord Irwin's place had been taken by the late Lord Curzon, and if the younger Nehru had acted instead of Gandhi, a truce would have been highly improbable. All too infrequently leaders arise who, in addition to a thoroughgoing devotion to their particular cause, combine a measure of moral respect for the side to which they are opposed and more particularly for the individual who symbolizes that side.

Recent events in India, in other words, reveal a perfect coördination of the spiritual and natural forces which must enter into every social struggle. The want of either fails to do justice, on the one hand to the unreasonable character of large-interest groups that necessitates an element of coercion or, on the other, to the fact that imperial ambitions of even powerful groups may be qualified by human reason and imagination. The weak win justice partly by raising up strength to balance the power of the strong and partly by assuming a common humanity which modifies the brutalities of the social struggle and lifts it into the realm of a mutual effort for justice.

Drama and Irony

A few weeks ago a little old lady breathed her last in a tomb of a house which has for decades been a landmark amid the skyscrapers and commercial buildings of Fifth Avenue in New York City. She was the last of the Wendels. For a lifetime she had lived as a hermit with the traffic of the world's busiest street roaring about her home. New York newspapers carried columns about her life and death, though only a few official mourners attended her funeral.

What was the cause of all this commotion? The little old lady had the final word in dividing an estate of a hundred million dollars. The Wendels had grown wealthy buying New York real estate and never selling it. Neither did they improve it. They were parasites on a city's growth. They merely levied tribute upon the millions who came after them. They rendered no social service and contributed nothing to the society that invested them with so much economic power. It would be foolish to envy them the control of this power, for they did not possess it. It possessed them and victimized them. The little old lady was a spinster because her brother, long since dead, prohibited her marriage as he did that of several other sisters. He did not want the Wendel fortune divided. The family thus won a brief, dubious glory and paid for it by its extinction.

There is, after all, a kind of ironic justice in history. What could be more perfect than to have a family destroy itself by its own greed? However, society should not derive too much satisfaction from this little drama. It is, for one thing, not sufficiently typical. Similar families exist everywhere in America, and though few of them are as drab as this one, there are many just as mediocre and no more deserving of the power they possess.

Then, too, the little old lady had the power to determine what should become of the immense fortune which raised her to such ironic eminence. She did not know much of the world about her, and as a result some of her bequests were fantastic. An orphans' home (we thought orphans' homes had become extinct long ago) and a theological school in China which boasts of less than a hundred students received millions at her hands. The newspapers have, of course, drawn all kinds of morals from her bequests; but at that we consider her will no more foolish than, let us say, the will of the late Harry Payne Whitney who left his son something like a hundred and fifty million to play around with.

One wonders how often such ironic dramas must be enacted before modern society will think seriously upon the problem of the right of testation—whether this little old lady, or any other man or woman, should have the right to divide such socially created wealth. Or will we never learn?

Unemployment Among Negroes

Negroes, in proportion to their numbers, are suffering more severely than white people in the present crisis of unemployment. According to a comprehensive report just released by the National Urban League, wherever figures were available, the percentage of Negroes among the unemployed was found to be greater than their population percentage, sometimes running as high as four or five times the proportionate amount. The Negroes of the South, however, seem to be faring somewhat better in this respect than those in Northern industrial centers.

Officers of the Commission on Interracial Coöperation, commenting on this report, point to the encouraging fact that during the past winter there has been less evidence of racial friction than might have been feared in a period of great idleness, unrest, and suffering. They point out that so far this year there have been no outbreaks of group conflict between the races such as have marked other periods of economic upheaval. The prompt and utter collapse last summer of the "Black Shirt" movement, which sought to enlist white working people in the effort to force Negroes out of their jobs, is looked upon as gratifying.

Furthermore, there are evidences of a growing recognition of working-class solidarity on the part of organized white labor. This is indicated by the efforts to organize Negro workers and by steps taken to give them more adequate representation in labor councils. In one Southern city, the head of the trade union council recently appointed Negroes to several of the council's committees. When a white worker objected to this revolutionary step, the official replied in effect, "Now, don't get excited! We are running a labor movement here, not a chapter of the Ku Klux Klan."

Communist activities among Negroes are rumored in certain parts of the South, but there is no evidence that much headway is being made in recruiting converts. The authorities are dealing vigorously with communist organizers, with the express purpose of keeping them from gaining a foothold. Arrests have been made in a number of cities, and in one case, six communist organizers, two of them Negroes, were charged with the capital offense of seeking to incite insurrection. They have been out on bond for several months, however, and there appears to be no disposition to push the charges against them so long as they remain quiet.

Mr. Ford's "Justice"

According to Department of Commerce statistics, Detroit, home of the automobile industry, is suffering acutely from unemployment. More than 11 per cent of the total population is unemployed, which probably means about 33 per cent of the wage-earners. Fortunately the city, under the leadership of a liberal mayor who was elected on the issue of relief for the unemployed, is doing more than most American municipalities to help those who are out of work. The department of welfare disburses two million dollars per month for unemployment relief. When the taxpayers begin to realize the enormity of this burden month after month, we hope they will remember that the wealthiest man in the world, who is responsible for at least a third of Detroit's unemployment, is not contributing a cent toward all this relief since his factories are outside of the city. Neither does he pay anything to the local charities, his theory being that a "just wage" is better than philanthropy. Rather than quarrel with the necessity of paying "doles," the taxpayers of Detroit, if they are wise, will contrive to equalize the burden of caring for the unemployed, more particularly by bringing their wealthy and famed citizen into the circle of burden-bearers. That means unemployment insurance. If they are not wise, they will swallow the anti-insurance propaganda and continue to bear this load which really belongs to Mr. Ford, while that gentleman gives out interviews to the press calculated to maintain his world-wide reputation as a humanitarian.

The German-Austrian Accord

Despite the protestations of Germany that her customs union with Austria has no political intent, the recent action of the two countries may be the beginning of a new political alignment in Europe. Even if no such intent consciously entered into the negotiations, political consequences are inevitable. And they may be as dangerous as they are inevitable.

The union between the two countries is logical enough and reveals once more how ineffectual are the means by which France is trying to keep Germany in the position of a vassal state. In an age in which economic power is the most significant force, military supremacy has become at least partially irrelevant. If Germany can reach a trade agreement with Russia on the one hand and, through Austria, with the Balkan nations on the other, we have what amounts to a new European alliance. The prospects for peace in such a situation are none too encouraging, for the efforts of France and her political satellites to frustrate the arrangement will inevitably lead to friction.

Clearly, the attempt to destroy the "German menace" by disparity in armaments, political alliances, and reparation burdens has merely created a new and more potent threat against French hegemony. Should present tendencies continue, the nations which benefited from the Versailles treaty and those that were victimized will both gradually close ranks, and the problem of 1914 will again raise its head. There is still time and opportunity to achieve European unity rather than war, but the necessary statesmanship seems to be lacking. The disarmament conference scheduled for Geneva next February will probably cast the die.

The Death of Liberalism

No more striking evidence of the death of liberalism as a political creed or temper in America could be furnished than the address of Walter Lippmann before a recent dinner meeting of the Academy of Political Science in New York. The purpose of the meeting was to honor Mr. Lippmann for his "significant contributions to political science, philosophic thought, and public opinion". Some rather important people were present and they waited with baited breath for the authoritative pronouncement on the meaning of liberalism. To judge from Mr. Lippmann's address, liberalism means an intelligent analysis of the complex factors and forces which enter into the life of the day, and an unwillingness to arrive at any generalization about them which might offer a plan or program for future action. In other words, the liberal is an intelligent person who is so obsessed by the intricacies and complexities of life and by the conflict of values and causes that all action is inhibited. He observes and reports and does nothing. "It is vain," declared Mr. Lippman, "to suppose that our problems can be dealt with by rallying

our people to some crusade which can be expressed in a symbol, a phrase, a set of principles or a program. If that is what the progressives are looking for today, they are looking in vain. For the objectives to which a nation like this can be aroused in anything like unanimity are limited to war and some kind of futile or destructive enterprise".

Surely Mr. Lippmann must know that no significant social program has ever waited upon unanimity of support for effective action. The goals that a living society projects are first stated by small minorities which may gradually become majorities, but which even in the hour of their triumph fail to persuade those who wage rearguard campaigns for the ancient order. Unanimity of support is a ridiculous test of the potency of any cause. It is equally ridiculous to use the complexity of modern life as an excuse for an unwillingness to attack the flagrant and obvious social ills of our day or to attempt basic readjustments in the life of society.

It is true that we can not chart the course which modern society ought to travel to the last mile. But we know some things quite definitely. We are aware, for instance, that inequality of income is the root of our major domestic and international problems, and we know that the power which property holds in our society is the basis of this inequality. If men as wise as Mr. Lippmann can not see the woods for the trees, we shall have to rely for the reorganization of our society upon less sophisticated leaders—men who can recognize basic truths because they have not been overwhelmed by a multitude of facts. Fanaticism has its own perils, particularly in a complex civilization, but it is certainly no more dangerous than the kind of inertia of intellectualism for which Mr. Lippmann stands.

Releasing Religion for Peace

An announcement which has come from the Fellowship of Reconciliation of the International Conference which it will hold in Holland next summer to consider "Europe's Struggle Between War and Peace" stimulates us to reflect upon the technique employed by the F. O. R. for waging peace. Organized in Great Britain soon after the outbreak of the World War, the F. O. R. took witness-bearing as its initial task. In answer to the question,

> "Does God love,
> And will ye hold that truth against the world?"

the Fellowship's reply was a *conscientious affirmative* by personal refusal of members to join in the God-denying, hate-engendering process of war. By a sharp negative stand they blazoned forth a positive truth.

The war provoked the initial test but it was only one test; for the post-war world still challenges the adequacy of love. Therefore the Fellowship of Reconciliation, having been extended to more than twenty countries in four continents, is still carrying on its test. Here are a few samples of what it is finding:

In Syria near Aleppo, under the inspiration of a Danish missionary backed by the Fellowship members of Sweden, a group of colonies has been founded where Armenian Christians and Moslem Bedouins live in peace and till the soil together. Reconciliation, instead of relief or repatriation, is proving practical.

When the United States was waging war in Nicaragua against Sandino and bombs from our airplanes were devastating territory there, the Fellowship and the Quakers sent down a Mission of Peace. It was not entirely successful, but after its arrival an order was issued from Washington prohibiting the bombing of villages, and Nicaraguans gave credit to the Fellowship-Quaker Mission for this restraining order. Recently the new President of Haiti wrote to the secretary of the Fellowship in Central America:

> I am sincerely grateful to you and, in a special degree, to the Fellowship of Reconciliation which, as you tell me, is energetically opposed to the military occupation of Haiti.

Last summer when tension between Germany and Poland was increasing sharply, the Fellowship organized a German-Polish Youth Camp where for ten days fifty young people from both countries discussed their differences and formed ties of mutual understanding and friendship. At Oberammergau during the Passion Play season, "Fellowship Camp" sheltered 1,175 people from fifteen countries and emphasized love as the solvent needed for the conflicts of races and nations.

During the same summer when a Fellowship secretary who was trying to secure arbitration of an industrial strike in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, suffered arrest and imprisonment, the secretary of a denominational board wrote: "I feel that I as a representative of the Social Service Commission of the Church should have been doing what you have been engaged in at Nazareth. . . ."

In the American South, the Fellowship has been endeavoring to release a religion that is not "Jim-Crow." Last February an interracial conference was held in Birmingham, Alabama, attended by students, teachers, and ministers—fifty-three of them Negroes and thirty-two white. A Southern white girl who teaches school in Alabama wrote: "The South is on the verge of one of the biggest steps she has ever taken. . . . We scarcely know what a debt we owe to the Fellowship for making this growth possible."

In all these and many other instances of experimental tests made in strife areas around the earth, the Fellowship is putting an ancient Gospel to a practical, modern test. The churches should take heed. If religion is to render effective service for world peace, something more is needed than preaching and resolutions.

Nineteen Thousand Clergymen on War and Peace

KIRBY PAGE

AMERICAN clergymen by the thousands have withdrawn their sanction and support from the war system. Other thousands believe that war may again be necessary in defense of country and civilization, and that willingness to support such a war is a patriotic and religious duty. This sharp division in opinion is revealed by the 19,372 replies to a questionnaire sent to 53,000 ministers by S. Parkes Cadman, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Daniel A. Poling, W. Russell Bowie, John Nevin Sayre, Ralph W. Sockman, Reinhold Niebuhr, Kirby Page, Sherwood Eddy, and William P. Merrill.

A total of 12,076 persons, or 62 per cent of those who responded, express the opinion that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war; and 10,427, or 54 per cent, state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants. The number who regard the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war as sufficiently valid to justify their sanctioning or participating in a future war of "defense" is 8,316, or 43 per cent. A total of 8,700, or 45 per cent, say they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains on active duty in wartime.

Substantial reductions in armaments, even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do, is favored by 15,449 clergymen, or 80 per cent of those replying. The number favoring military training in our public schools and civilian colleges or universities is 2,574, or 13 per cent. A total of 12,017 ministers, or 62 per cent, believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our Government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means. The immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations is favored by 12,709, or 66 per cent.

OPPOSITION to the war system appears to be more vigorous in theological seminaries than among clergymen generally. A total of 870, or 79 per cent of the 1,101 theological students who replied, believe that the churches should refuse to sanction or support any future war, and 792, or 72 per cent, state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant. Only 301, or 27 per cent, say that they could conscientiously serve as official army chaplains on active duty in wartime.

A detailed summary of the replies from the four seminaries sending in the largest number of returns appears on a later page. Smaller numbers of answers came from the following seminaries: Auburn, Bangor, Berkeley, Berkeley Baptist, Bloomfield, Bonebrake, Central, Church Divinity, Chicago Theological, Colgate, Crane, Crozier, Drake, Drew, Eden, Episcopal, General, Hartford, Harvard, Hartwick, Kenyon, Lancaster, Lane, Meadville, New Brunswick, Newton, Pacific, Pacific Unitarian, Princeton, Presbyterian, Sewanee, Temple, Transylvania, University of Chicago, Western, Xenia. A detailed summary of the responses from the seventeen seminaries with the largest number of replies has been prepared and will be sent upon request; unfortunately it is too long to be included in the present discussion.

IN seeking to determine the real significance of the summary tables, several relevant factors should be kept in mind. The replies do not reflect the attitudes of several important religious bodies. The Jews, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Southern Baptists, and Southern Methodists are not represented in the returns. The total number of clergymen in the country exceeds 100,000, and it was necessary on grounds of expense and time involved to limit the inquiry to 53,000.* It seemed advisable to attempt a thorough survey of certain groups, rather than to make samples of all religious bodies. *The tabulation of the replies was done on a machine by a professional tabulator. The accuracy of the calculations in the tables has been attested by a certified accountant.*

It is likely that the ministers who are most vigorous in their opposition to war replied in larger proportions than did their less interested colleagues. This means that the ministry as a whole is probably less hostile to the war system than these tables would seem to indicate.

Another factor that must be kept in mind is the inherent weakness of the questionnaire method. Opinions on complex questions cannot be reflected with complete accuracy by yes or no answers. These summaries, therefore, represent only approximations of opinions. Another difficulty is found in the fact that many replies were not entirely clear, and errors may have occurred in tabulation. It is possible, too, that mistakes were made by the person filling out the questionnaire—as, for example, placing a cross in the wrong column. It appears also that varying interpretations

*I am heavily indebted to my wife, Mary Alma Page, and our daughter, Mary, for countless hours of coöperation in classifying the responses and in deciphering hundreds of comments.

of the questions were held by different individuals. Allowance should be made for the fact that many persons who now say that they will not sanction or support any future war may change their minds if confronted with an actual crisis, when passions are inflamed and fears aroused. It is obvious, therefore, that *extreme caution should be observed in attempting to prove the validity of a particular point of view by citing these summaries.*

WHAT, then, is the value of this summary of opinions? These tables unquestionably reveal trends in attitudes toward war and peace. The volume of opposition to the war system indicated by the 10,427 clergymen who state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants cannot be explained away by emphasizing the possibility of uncertainties and errors in compilation. The pacifist position is still unpopular in many quarters and ministers are not likely to take this extreme stand unless they feel keenly about the whole question. It is highly significant that *approximately 17,700 persons, or 91 per cent, expressed a willingness to have their names and replies made public.*

After due allowance has been made for a margin of error, certain tendencies are obvious. The small percentage favoring military training speaks eloquently, especially when it is noted that the question does not refer to *compulsory* military training. The demand that the United States take the lead in seeking substantial reductions in armaments is sounded with clarity and vigor.

The degree of consistency in the answers of different religious bodies is impressive. Only two of the classifications fail to show a majority of replies favorable to the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. Only one communion reveals more than 20 per cent of answers favorable to military training, and only one group falls below 70 per cent of replies favorable to the United States making proportionately greater reductions in armaments than other nations are yet willing to do. With a single exception, all bodies register a majority of replies in favor of abandoning armed intervention in other lands. That the churches should refuse to sanction or support any future war is maintained by a majority of every group, with but one exception. Six out of the eleven classifications show more than 50 per cent of individuals who take the pacifist position of refusing to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants. Only four groups show a majority who say they could serve as army chaplains; and only four communions reveal more than 50 per cent of persons who sanction a "defensive" war.

Many persons asked why we did not include questions on the Briand-Kellogg treaty, the World Court, education for peace, and similar constructive measures. The reason for not incorporating such questions was that we assumed that the ministers of the country are almost unanimous in supporting these proposals. It seemed wiser to direct our inquiry into areas where there is a sharper divergence of opinion.

Several thousand comments on the various questions were made, and it may prove illuminating if different positions are illustrated by selected excerpts. Arguments for and against the various proposals are now given.

Extend the Sphere of Law

"It is inevitable," writes Paul W. Walker, of Oxford, Maine, "that so long as there is no system of international laws and courts for the settlement of disputes between nations, future wars will arise. Only as the rule of law is extended to govern the relationships between nations will war be abolished. The churches must work for the strengthening of the machinery of international law, for the entry of the United States into the League of Nations, the adherence of our Government to the World Court, and the defeat of measures for military preparedness."

"The League is going in the right direction," in the opinion of George H. Parkinson, of Enid, Oklahoma. "Our absence from it sets us outside of many international cooperations, and tends to solidify the world against us in military matters as well as industrial and commercial. The psychological effect in Europe is hostile to us. Our boasted independence of action outside is a boast without a fact. Our action will be determined by the action of others taken without our advice or consent. Inside the League we will be freer to choose than we are outside of it." This point is also stressed by Wm. S. Jackson, of Winsted, Connecticut: "Yes, because we have no choice in the matter of 'entangling alliances,' the complexity of modern civilization yearly entangles and allies us more closely with other peoples." "I favor entrance into the League of Nations," says J. C. Plummer, of Swanton, Ohio, "provided we go in with the announced intention of 'boring from within' until the inequalities of the Versailles treaty are disposed of and military sanctions done away with."

"The League may not be perfect," writes Thomas I. Kirkwood, of Warrenton, Oregon, "but it is the best instrument we have at present for the settling of international disputes. Our staying out of it will not make it better. We can do more to make it what it ought to be if we are on the inside." Ralph L. Holland, of Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, points out that "a child does not start off in life with a diet of beef-steak and mashed potatoes. Neither does a war-ridden world start off on the road to peace with a fully charted course in every detail. The League of Nations is the first food for the growing child of world peace. Let us begin with it, and as time goes on develop more effective measures with our growing experience." "I was a fanatic for the League of Nations when that was the paramount issue," says Charles S. McKinney, of Caledonia, Minnesota. "I firmly believe that the failure of our Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty was the most damnable crime ever perpetrated on the American people. Furthermore that failure—that crime—has precipitated the present industrial warfare amongst the nations of earth and has been the chief cause of the awful depression and woeful confusion from which the world is suffering and which now threatens another world tragedy."

Summary of Replies from 19,372 Clergymen

	Number Receiving Question-naire	Total Replying	Yes	No	In Doubt	No Answer	Percentage Answering Yes	Percentage Answering No
1. Do you favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	12,709	3,060	3,435	168	66	16
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	3,901	757	1,112	23	67	13
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,725	427	421	10	67	17
Congregational	5,008	2,135	1,516	302	305	12	71	14
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	1,370	227	249	13	74	12
Baptist	5,800	1,745	1,011	372	353	9	58	21
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	1,024	322	259	12	63	20
Reformed	1,591	560	363	101	90	6	65	18
United Brethren	2,164	553	291	140	113	9	53	25
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	110	163	104	2	29	43
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	296	40	59	2	75	10
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	270	143	175	62	42	22
2. Do you favor military training in our public high schools and civilian colleges or universities?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	2,574	16,018	677	103	13	83
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	416	5,262	108	7	7	91
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	437	2,023	113	10	17	78
Congregational	5,008	2,135	276	1,764	88	7	13	83
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	669	1,043	135	12	36	56
Baptist	5,800	1,745	258	1,407	77	3	15	81
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	197	1,351	62	7	12	84
Reformed	1,591	560	53	492	13	2	9	88
United Brethren	2,164	553	65	473	12	3	12	86
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	29	342	7	1	8	90
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	56	324	16	1	14	82
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	41	549	15	45	6	84
3. Do you favor substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	15,449	2,702	1,099	122	80	14
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	4,981	523	280	9	86	9
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,920	509	147	7	74	20
Congregational	5,008	2,135	1,749	254	128	4	82	12
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	1,260	424	162	13	68	23
Baptist	5,800	1,745	1,313	311	112	9	75	18
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	1,282	242	82	11	79	15
Reformed	1,591	560	449	80	27	4	80	14
United Brethren	2,164	553	412	104	37	0	75	19
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	282	74	23	0	74	20
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	315	51	27	4	79	13
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	502	57	33	58	77	9
4. Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our Government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	12,017	3,899	3,257	199	62	20
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	3,948	895	926	24	68	15
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,379	690	490	24	53	27
Congregational	5,008	2,135	1,316	442	364	13	62	21
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	857	613	370	19	46	33
Baptist	5,800	1,745	1,002	385	350	8	57	22
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	1,008	333	257	19	62	21
Reformed	1,591	560	376	92	86	6	67	16
United Brethren	2,164	553	307	145	98	3	56	26
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	313	35	30	1	83	9
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	251	69	69	8	63	17
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	410	81	89	70	63	12

* Including approximately 3,000 sent to theological seminaries, from which 1,101 replies were received. These replies are tabulated on page 151.

	Number Receiving Questionnaire	*Total Replying*	*Yes*	*No*	*In Doubt*	*No Answer*	*Percentage Answering Yes*	*No*
5. Do you believe that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	12,076	4,723	2,399	174	62	24
Total not including seminaries	50,041	18,271	11,206	4,593	2,304	168	61	25
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	4,215	895	661	22	73	15
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,376	854	333	20	53	33
Congregational	5,008	2,135	1,210	575	337	13	57	27
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	772	833	237	17	42	45
Baptist	5,800	1,745	933	510	287	15	53	29
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	1,002	396	208	11	62	24
Reformed	1,591	560	384	110	58	8	69	20
United Brethren	2,164	553	325	155	69	4	59	28
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	293	64	21	1	77	17
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	229	126	38	4	58	32
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	467	75	55	53	72	12
6. Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	10,427	5,801	2,890	254	54	30
Total not including seminaries	50,041	18,271	9,635	5,628	2,762	246	53	31
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	3,598	1,252	900	43	62	22
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,192	995	363	33	46	39
Congregational	5,008	2,135	1,039	710	358	28	49	33
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	648	919	266	26	35	49
Baptist	5,800	1,745	804	617	306	18	46	35
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	862	486	250	19	53	30
Reformed	1,591	560	345	132	75	8	62	24
United Brethren	2,164	553	247	207	91	8	45	37
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	261	66	47	5	69	17
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	199	148	46	4	50	37
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	440	96	60	54	68	15
7. Could you conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	8,700	6,628	3,721	323	45	34
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	2,243	2,204	1,288	58	39	38
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,359	705	477	42	53	27
Congregational	5,008	2,135	973	717	405	40	46	34
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	1,304	292	247	16	70	16
Baptist	5,800	1,745	897	442	371	35	51	25
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	703	616	272	26	43	38
Reformed	1,591	560	197	246	109	8	35	44
United Brethren	2,164	553	294	152	103	4	53	27
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	115	184	75	5	30	49
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	169	155	63	10	43	39
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	145	359	33	63	22	55
8. Do you regard the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war as sufficiently valid to justify your sanctioning or participating in a future war of "defense"?								
Summary of all responding*	53,041	19,372	8,316	7,130	3,563	363	43	37
Methodist Episcopal	12,437	5,793	2,250	2,326	1,148	69	39	40
Presbyterian	8,500	2,583	1,349	722	471	41	52	28
Congregational	5,008	2,135	874	806	410	45	41	38
Protestant Episcopal	5,581	1,859	1,088	436	289	46	59	23
Baptist	5,800	1,745	877	505	332	31	50	29
Disciples of Christ	5,372	1,617	740	528	324	25	46	33
Reformed	1,591	560	202	245	100	13	36	44
United Brethren	2,164	553	317	143	88	5	57	26
Evangelical Synod	1,069	379	99	218	55	6	26	58
Unitarian and Universalist	968	397	143	174	69	11	36	44
Miscellaneous	1,551	650	148	346	92	64	23	53

Avoid Entangling Alliances

"Positively no!" exclaims S. T. Geiger, of Ericson, Nebraska. "The League of Nations is an entangling alliance and is certain to do nothing else more surely than to create hatred, suspicion and disastrous war, culminating favorably for Romanism. It is a Godless and Christless alliance and doomed to lead the human race satanically. The Gospel of Jesus alone will bring peace to men and nations, applied individually." DeWitt C. Cobb, of Camden, New Jersey, expresses the opinion that "if we join we can be compelled to send men and material the world over, whereas our own people should settle the question of war, and no nation on earth should exercise authority over us. . . . More than one half of the states in the League of Nations at the present time are under Roman Catholic control. . . . It will be a horrible day for worldwide Protestantism when a Pope heads the League of Nations." "I fear that our entrance into the League of Nations would simply compel us to send our choice young men to Europe to be slaughtered as soon as another war breaks out there," says Edward P. Nuss, of Potter, Wisconsin.

Howard W. Burden, of Roseville, Michigan, writes: "I doubt the wisdom of entering into the League of Nations because I understand that the League sanctions war to the extent of using it as an instrument to bring about the will of its members. That is, if any of the contracting parties go to war violating their contract the rest are called upon to make war against this offender. Am I right? If the League would adopt a policy refusing any appeal to armed force to enforce its principles, I would favor our entrance." "We, as a country," says Curtis H. Dickins, of Newburgh, New York, "can be of infinitely greater influence to the struggling nations of the world, as an advisor, acting singly. The League spells intrigue and thus far in that sort of diplomacy, we are mere children in the hands of the adepts of Europe. Their type of diplomacy is the creation of centuries; ours breathes of clean, open frankness, and it will take centuries for Europe to realize the value of our approach in matters diplomatic. No entangling alliances!"

The opinion is expressed by J. J. Hofmann, of Marinette, Wisconsin, that "it is not the churches' business to say whether our country should, or should not enter the League of Nations. This is up to our Government. What the churches should do in this matter is to pray for our Government that God may guide it in its decisions. We should more than ever strive to make our people Christians who will allow God, or rather Christ's spirit, to guide them. I believe that our Government will do the right thing if guided by Christ—but I am not at all sure that it will be able to do that if it is led and tutored by the church." "The United States voted on this subject," writes Joseph Virgil Clark, of Chicago. "Keep out! Why do a lot of smart so-called individuals keep harping on the subject. Any person with brains, would say no. . . . I am disgusted and ashamed of your questions. They do not represent a pure American interest, and reveal no thought. Every generation must have a war, to try the strength of its young manhood. When such men like yourself quit sending out such requests stirring up dissatisfaction through the country, there will be peace. Quit using the cloak of the church in a scheme that is a damage to the people in the United States."

Military Training Desirable

"I answer in the affirmative," says Golder Lawrence, of San Bernardino, California, "for I have seen what lack of it meant in 1917-1918. The real murderers are those in educational and ministerial and other leadership fields who, knowing that the peace of the world is more in jeopardy today (for the world is better armed and the causes for unrest greater than in 1914) insist upon sending another army of untrained youth into the field to be murdered by trained soldiers. I saw it done. And all the fine and sentimental and theoretical arguments some of us spin, cannot change what I saw. I cannot forget that." "As a graduate of Shattuck Military Academy," writes William Russell McKim, of Rochester, New York, "I am heartily in favor of the system as developing character, cooperative action or coordination of effort, respect for law and order and discipline. The uniform dress, also, helps to extend ideas of democracy as it prevents wealth display, etc. I emphatically protest against the pacifist claim that it inculcates militarism or desire for war." "I see no other chance of boys learning the elementary virtues of discipline, since many are excluded from the games," says Edward C. McAllister, of Millinocker, Maine.

Angus E. Clephan, of Put-in-Bay, Ohio, expresses the opinion that "military training in schools does not encourage fighting any more than teaching boxing encourages brawling; as an amateur middleweight of past years, pugilism taught me to refrain from fighting unless desperately required for the protection of some lady. It taught me self-control and poise—freedom from fear and being unmanly as so many of our flim-flam lounge lizards are today." "Military training in schools," declares Henry Teller Cocke, of Chevy Chase, Maryland, "does not develop the war spirit and does not make for war in my opinion. I would be in favor of military training for girls because of its physical and disciplinary value. My opinion is the result of a military training and years of close association with military men. There are about 50 officers of the different branches of the service in my congregation and they are constantly changing because no Army officer is allowed to stay in Washington more than four years. It is the only profession where a man can get married and be cared for as soon as he graduates."

Elmer S. Anderson, of Rialto, California, writes: "So long as the public schools of America have the protection and support of the United States Constitution and said Constitution calls for military activity for any cause whatever, the United States Government should have a right to train its own citizens, without hindrance, in every legitimate form." "I think some form of military training is wise since we have reduced our standing army," says James J. Bingham, of Philadelphia, "for while we may hope for a Utopia, we are not quite sure that it has arrived; neither do we have any assurance that closing our eyes would bring it."

The Menace of Military Training

"Having been in R.O.T.C. and C.M.T.C.," writes James A. Wiant, of Oxford, Ohio, "I feel that it is not the proper type of training, physical or mental, to promote a generation of real men, leaders of today and tomorrow. This summer at Camp Knox under fine military discipline, I felt that I was impeded rather than advanced, and as far as social conduct is concerned, I feel that military training tends to make men coarse instead of gallant and really manly." George H. Richardson, of Lead, South Dakota, says: "I deeply feel that military training

should be stopped. The very psychology of the thing breeds the spirit of war. I have spoken in many colleges and universities during the past few years and have been amazed at the attitude toward war displayed by many young men under training." "After serving seven years in a military academy, I say decidedly: Abandon the system," writes R. C. Ten Broeck, of Port Austin, Michigan. A different reason is advanced by M. L. Girton, of Escules, Arizona: "I am opposed to the militarizing of our schools not because I believe in peace, but because of the bad influence this militarizing is exerting on our entire school system. There should be other means of training soldiers without using our educational system, which was never designed for such a purpose."

E. Raymond Attebery, of Seattle thinks that "we should speak of war, less war, and more war, for there is no such thing, to penetrating vision, as peace in our social order. The smouldering embers of conflict and injustice sputtering away underneath the surface are the sure prophecy for tomorrow's cataclysm, all our noble declarations to the contrary notwithstanding. We might as well face the fact: We shall never abolish war by these negative methods alone. Outlawry of war is a great step, limitations of armaments of all kinds is progress, and the building of a peace consciousness to offset the 'war psychosis' is good. Yet are they all as 'clanging brass' and 'tinkling cymbals' if we are not willing to grab this war monster by the throat by demanding that our peace-time economics shall worship the god of peace. It is for this reason that I cannot get much excited over the incitement to war caused by the bands, uniforms of the R. O. T. C. boys on our campuses, young women's auxiliaries, and the formal parades at our educational institutions. The devil has outmaneuvered us. He has hypnotized us by the wicked appearance of his tail while he is goring us to death with his horns and crunching our peace dreams in his great jaws."

The Race of Armaments

"After five years in Japan," says Mark R. Shaw, of Holliston, Massachusetts, "during which time I sought seriously to study her problems, I am convinced that the militarists of Japan could not get the appropriations to maintain Japan's navy at the present size if they could not point to the American and British navies as forces against which Japan must defend herself. I believe the same to be true largely in England. If the American navy were to be drastically reduced, as if we meant the Paris Treaty, the people of the other countries, especially Japan, who are carrying a heavy burden, would demand that their governments cut also. Because of my faith in the people of the other countries, I do not hesitate to say that I would like to see America take the lead, and reduce, reduce, reduce, drastically reduce. Parity means jealously; reduction means confidence." "I would like to state my convictions," writes R. C. Puffer, of Big Rapids, Michigan, "that the nation which would dare to cut its armaments to a minimum would today be the safest nation on the earth. Public opinion would make it impossible for any other nations to attack her."

J. Ross Colquhoun, of Wabasha, Minnesota, says: "As the greatest and most powerful nation in the world, I have a strong conviction that no other country would have the temerity to attack the United States. Today other countries respect us for our greatness, but they fear our power. There is no more destructive agency in the world than fear. Would not this fear be dispelled by the United States reducing her armaments beyond that of other nations? It would be the greatest act of moral leadership in our time and would win the highest regard of all other peoples. Our greatness compels us to lead all nations towards complete disarmament." The opinion is expressed by Frank Clarke, of Fairhaven, Ohio, that "in any great forward movement somebody has to lead out. There is always a certain amount of risk in leading out. In the matter of international reduction of armaments there is too much bickering about parity. Before any real progress in reduction is made, some nation will have to lead the way. Of all the nations in the world, America has the least to fear or risk if she cut her present navy by half. America is supposed to be the greatest nation in the world in matters of moral leadership. Why then is she waiting for Great Britain or Japan or France to lead a reduction of naval power? America should lead the way."

General O'Ryan on War

"Is it justifiable for Christians to take part in war? Frankly, I do not think it is.

"I have not always seen it this way. I think it first came to me one day at Camp Wadsworth. My wife had come down the back road at Camp and passed the bayonet run where one British, one French and four American officers were urging the boys to curse and to swear, and as they tore down the dummies to bring down their hob-nailed shoes harder on the stuffed men.

"My wife is a Methodist. I am a Catholic. When she got to where I was she burst out with the question: 'How do you reconcile this with your Christian principles?' I replied, 'I don't.' But I said I would talk it over when I got back.

"I shall enlist if another war comes, but I shall not try to reconcile it with Christian principles. I shall not pretend to take Christ with me into the war."—*Major General John F. O'Ryan, before the Ohio Pastors' Convention, Columbus, Ohio, January 22, 1929.*

Armed Preparedness Necessary

"As an American citizen," states H. Lee McLendon, of Chicago, "I confidently believe that our best guarantee of peace is to maintain a large standing army and navy. I, for one, want to see this nation armed to the teeth. I have no sympathy whatever for any and all propaganda that is abroad and about us to disarm this nation. Personally, I do not think there is a nation on earth that can be trusted. This world today is reeking with suspicion. There are wars now in progress. The air is filled with rumors of war. Huge preparations are going on in this direction. I do not want my beloved land to be caught 'asleep at the switch.' God save America from her enemies among her own citizenship." Edmund C. Sargent, of Rues, North Dakota, holds that "a strong army and navy, rightly used under our form of government, are simply a type of insurance. We don't want to burn up our homes but someone across the street may set his house on fire and ours may burn down with it. Our fire insurance policy protects us against such events just as our army and navy protect our homes against those who may desire to destroy what we have, for reasons which they may believe to be valid."

5. *Do you believe that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war?*

Yes

Wm. P. Merrill, New York
Charles M. Sheldon, Topeka
Charles E. Jefferson, New York
Edward A. Steiner, Grinnell
Bishop Thirkield, New York
Samuel S. Drury, Concord
Bishop Faber, Helena
Frank Oliver Hall, New York
Alvin C. Goddard, New York
H. O. Breeden, Oakland
Gaius Glenn Atkins, Auburn
J. H. Horstmann, St. Louis
F. D. Kershner, Indianapolis
Bishop Booth, Vermont
Norris L. Tibbetts, Chicago
Frederick Frankenfeld, Rochester
Howard Thurman, Atlanta
Albert C. Fulton, Syracuse
Wm. Henry Huber, Akron
Harry C. Munro, Chicago
Bishop Cranston, New Richmond
Charles V. Trent, Seattle
H. G. Maeder, Philadelphia
S. K. Mosiman, Bluffton
W. J. Sherman, San Francisco
Orrin T. Anderson, St. Louis
W.V. Mallalieu, Charleston
Theodore F. Savage, New York
H. L. Turner, Atlanta
W. F. Kosman, Allentown
Wm. H. Boddy, Chicago
J. E. Crowther, St. Louis
J.Stanley Durkee, Brooklyn
Luther Wesley Smith, Columbia
H. R. Niebuhr, Webster Groves
C. Ivar Hellstrom, New York
C. Pearl Maus, Indianapolis
R. Cary Montague, Richmond
O. W. S. McCall, Berkeley
R. N. Merrill, Long Beach
John A. Eby, Los Angeles
Bishop Blosser, Iowa
A. LeRoy Huff, Des Moines
Hugh Vernon White, Stockton
W. L. Perkins, Los Angeles
A. L. Kinsolving, Boston
Hillyer H. Straton, Muncie
S. H. Hudnut, Youngstown
Stoddard Lane, Des Moines
Milo Atkinson, San Diego
O. P. Schroerluke, St. Louis
York A. King, Providence
Allen A. Stockdale, Chicago
Merle H. Anderson, Ann Arbor
Eugene E. House, New York
W. D. Schermerhorn, Evanston
P. M. Limbert, Lancaster

Yes

Bishop Touret, North Carolina
Ernest Bourner Allen, Oak Park
J. M. McGann, Springfield
H. L. Pickerill, Fort Worth
R. L. Tucker, Columbus
Robert T. Caldwell, Cheyenne
John T. Thomas, Springfield
F. W. Ruth, Bernville
Perry J. Rice, Chicago
Russell F. Judson, Cedar Rapids
Wm. B. Spofford, New York
W. H. P. Hatch, Cambridge
Timothy Lehmann, Elmhurst
E. L. Frey, Wauseon
G. B. MacDonald, Philadelphia
Charles B. Holder, Mobile
Donald H. Tippett, New York
J. F. Johnstone, Hartford
R. H. Potter, Hartford
V. O. Ward, Minneapolis
T. N. Williams, Louisville
Joseph Myers, Kansas City
N. F. Stilwell, Cleveland
Herbert H. Powell, Berkeley
F. A. Shults, Columbus
F. C. Leining, Syracuse
Lester W. Bumpus, Pittsburgh
Norman V. Peale, Syracuse
Clarence Campbell, Tulsa
E. J. Helms, Watertown
Albert G. Butzer, Ridgewood
Milo J. Smith, San Francisco
H. Otheman Smith, Yonkers
Frank A. Rhea, Boise
Lon Ray Call, New York
Edward B. Pace, Salt Lake City
Nicholas Vander Pye, Oberlin
Geo. A. Heiss, York
L. L. Dunnington, Duluth
G. L. Willets, Columbus
W. L. Airheart, Fargo
Walter D. Knight, New York
S. B. Crandell, Battle Creek
Robert D. Brown, Pittsburgh
F. Howard Callahan, Columbus
W. O. Williams, Wilkes-Barre
L. D. Spaugy, McKeesport
John H. McLean, Cambridge
J. W. Day, Topeka
W. B. Hill, Poughkeepsie
Robert Little, Cedar Rapids
S. W. Bell, Morgantown
F. R. Griffin, Philadelphia
F. M. Bailey, St. Joseph
Ralph Walker, Cleveland
F. J. Kennedy, New Haven
James E. Ferguson, Houston
Owen R. Williams, Philadelphia
Bishop Mitchell, Phoenix

No

S. Parkes Cadman, Brooklyn
Bishop Stires, Garden City
Henry C. King, Oberlin
Bishop McDowell, Washington
William Carter, Brooklyn
Cornelius H. Patton, Boston
Bishop Stewart, Chicago
Samuel A. Eliot, Boston
Bishop Brewster, Hartford
Wm. Hiram Foulkes, Newark
Sidney L. Gulick, New York
Victor M. Hovis, Montgomery
M. Ashby Jones, St. Louis
Peter Gray Sears, Houston
Bishop Cross, Spokane
Carl S. Patton, Los Angeles
H. C. Coleman, Chattanooga
Bishop Creighton, Mexico
Paul D. Moody, Middlebury
Nehemiah Boynton, Brooklyn
J. A. MacCallum, Philadelphia
James E. Congdon, Chicago
Bishop Davies, Springfield
M. A. Lichliter, Columbus
Dilworth Lupton, Cleveland
Bishop Roberts, Sioux Falls
J. E. Milligan, Corvallis
O. L. Curl, Tulsa
S. K. Mahan, Toledo
Harlan P. Beach, Winter Park
Talmage Witt, St. Louis
Charles W. Kelley, Plymouth
Bishop Ivins, Milwaukee
Neil McPherson, Springfield
Robt. Excell Fry, Duluth
Bishop Davis, Buffalo
J. W. Potter, Oskaloosa
Wm. H. Phelps, Des Moines
Thos. H. Harper, Los Angeles
A. C. Knowles, Philadelphia
H. H. Savage, Pontiac
W. R. Hunt, Boston
W. H. Nes, New Orleans
John Van Schaick, Boston
E. W. Hay, Toledo
C. A. Parkin, Chicago
Wm. Dawson, Milwaukee
W. L. Harms, Oshkosh
Wm. W. Rockwell, New York
A. O. Caldwell, Titusville
A. J. Preston, Saginaw
Fraser Metzger, New Brunswick
C. H. Winders, Indianapolis
Arthur B. Rudd, Washington
R. S. Loring, Milwaukee
A. L. Semans, Fort Dodge
T. W. Fessenden, Toledo
F. P. Littorin, Quincy

No

Bishop Weller, Fond du Lac
F. Q. Blanchard, Cleveland
S. M. Martin, Seattle
Perry J. Stackhouse, Chicago
Alfred G. Pinkham, St. Paul
Ross W. Sanderson, New York
Wm. B. Arnold, Buffalo
C. Franklin Ward, New York
W. S. Mitchell, Worcester
Elmer Kirkpatrick, Coffeyville
J. Floyd Morris, Des Moines
Bailie McLester, Chattanooga
G. E. Merriam, Buffalo
Roger C. Brown, Yuma
Henry Johnson, Allentown
C. H. Stewart, Buffalo
Walter M.Walker, Philadelphia
V. O. Weidler, Minneapolis
C. E. Hellens, Fall River
A. J. Funnell, Sandusky
J. R. McAliley, Trenton
Vere V. Loper, Denver
E. N. Allen, Los Angeles
W. W. T. Duncan, Pittsburgh
A. M. Clarke, Brookings
L. A. Kilpatrick, Buffalo
John Ellery, Philadelphia
W. O. Anderson, Long Beach
John Clark Archer, New Haven
W. A. Hopkins, Covington
A. M. Pierce, Philadelphia
E. M. Shockley, Wilmington
F. H. Throop, Columbus
I. M. Haldeman, New York
T. B. Penfield, Englewood
O. P. Barnhill, New York
F. L. Pedersen, Seattle
Adam G. Frank, Topeka
J. W. Brush, New Haven
G. H. McClung, Grand Rapids
W. R. Harshaw, Minneapolis
Wm. N. Parker, Philadelphia
Wm. H. Evans, Rensselaer
George R. Eads, Portland
H. B. Boyd, Philadelphia
R. R. Marquis, Vincennes
Geo. W. Rice, Baltimore
J. L. French, Morgantown
Geo. W. Gilmore, New York
Joel H. Ponder, Drexel Hill
W. E. Lake, Atlantic City
F. A. Hawley, Rochester
S. T. Foster, Carbondale
D. W. M. MacCluer, Portland
A. J. Sadler, Jersey City
Philip H. Clifford, Boston
H. G. Gaunt, Atlantic City
W. F. D. Lewis, Cleveland Hts.
Tertius Van Dyke, Washington

6. ***Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?***

Yes

Harry Emerson Fosdick, New York
Bishop Brewster, Portland
Ralph W. Sockman, New York
W. S. Abernethy, Washington
Albert Parker Fitch, New York
A. E. Cory, Indianapolis
Ernest F. Tittle, Evanston
Reinhold Niebuhr, New York
J. M. Mullan, Philadelphia
Bishop Winchester, Little Rock
Jay T. Stocking, St. Louis
Wm. L. Stidger, Boston
Frederick K. Stamm, Brooklyn
W. Russell Bowie, New York
David Bryn-Jones, Minneapolis
F. W. Burnham, Indianapolis
Sherwood Eddy, New York
Henry H. Crane, Scranton
Andrew Gillies, Rochester
Albert B. Coe, Oak Park
Bishop Fricke, Michigan
J. H. Lathrop, Brooklyn
A. Ray Petty, Kansas City
Bishop Seaman, Amarillo
James M. Stifler, Evanston
James A. Richards, Oberlin
Bishop Houston, Seattle
Walter M. White, Memphis
Bishop Stratton, Kansas City
Frank D. Adams, Detroit
Fred Eastman, Chicago
James A. Crain, Indianapolis
Joel B. Hayden, Cleveland
Fred W. Shorter, Seattle
Bishop Burleson, South Dakota
H. O. Pritchard, Indianapolis
W. Rede, Baltimore
H. L. Streich, St. Louis
Stanley Manning, Augusta
Bishop Mitchell, Pasadena
Owen R. Lovejoy, New York
Harold F.Carr, Philadelphia
John Paul Jones, Troy
Bruce Curry, New York
C. H. Loucks, Seattle
Gilbert S. Cox, South Bend
Harry T. Stock, Boston
Arthur L. Weatherby, Lincoln
Oren H. Baker, Rochester
T. Guthrie Speers, Baltimore
J. E. Hartzler, Bluffton
Sidney B. Snow, Chicago
Bishop Cassady, Oklahoma City
Jesse M. Bader, Indianapolis
C. L. Seasholes, Dayton
George L. Paine, Boston
J. P. Meyer, St. Louis
C. Everett Wagner, New York

Yes

Halford E. Luccock, New Haven
Samuel Tyler, Rochester
M. E. Bollen, Seattle
John Nevin Sayre, New York
J. S. Dancey, Ames
E. C. Hickman, St. Paul
W. E. Lampe, Philadelphia
R. H. Miller, Kansas City
C. D. Rockel, Altoona
Noble S. Elderkin, Akron
Cameron P. Hall, New York
John W. Darr, Claremont
Roy H. Wollom, Tucson
S. Leslie Reid, Buffalo
J. H. Dietrich, Minneapolis
H. P. Atkins, Cincinnati
Joseph Fletcher, Washington
Bishop Paul Jones, Yellow Spgs.
E. C. Pugh, Chicago
N. C. Fetter, Cambridge
Phillips P. Elliott, New York
Paul G. Macy, Toledo
Bishop Tyler, Fargo
J. A. Vollenweider, Buffalo
Chas. A. Sumners, Houston
Fay Campbell, New Haven
Arnold H. Lowe, St. Louis
A. K. Morris, Toledo
Paul S. Leinbach, Philadelphia
F. S. Idleman, New York
D. F. Rittenhouse, Pasadena
G. M. Day, Williamstown
C. B. Sylvester, San Jose
L. W. Almy, Chicago
L. N. D. Wells, Dallas
E. LeRoy Dakin, Milwaukee
C. H. Campbell, Jersey City
Hiram K. Douglass, Memphis
Wm. E. Kroll, East Orange
Everett R. Clinchy, New York
Stanley A. Hunter, Berkeley
Chas. F. Mathews, Sacramento
Leroy W. Coons, Boston
W. Brooke Stabler, New York
Harold C. Phillips, Cleveland
Luke M. White, Montclair
Ray Freeman Jenney, Syracuse
James H. Speer, Minneapolis
George S. Lackland, Meadville
F. W. McConnell, Indiana, Pa.
F. D. Wentzel, Upper Darby
F. B. Bartlett, Berkeley
Roland H. Bainton, New Haven
Wm. P. Lemon, Iowa City
Robt. M. Russell, Larchmont
John Garretson, Cincinnati
Bernard Iddings Bell, Annandale-on-Hudson

No

Bishop Lloyd, New York
A. Z. Conrad, Boston
Albert W. Beaven, Rochester
B. D. Tucker, Jr., Richmond
Alva W. Taylor, Nashville
Marion D. Shutter, Minneapolis
Minot C. Morgan, New York
Harry P. Dewey, Minneapolis
Bishop Fawcett, Quincy
W. N. Briney, Louisville
D. J. Cowling, Northfield
Irving Maurer, Beloit
Horace J. Bridges, Chicago
H. E. W. Fosbroke, New York
A. P. Reccord, Detroit
M. L. Robinson, New York
Samuel Colcord, New York
J. Percival Huget, Brooklyn
Bishop Sumner, Portland
I. N. McCash, Enid
L. M. Birkhead, Kansas City
Bishop Penick, Charlotte
H. M. Edmonds, Birmingham
Bishop Welch, Pittsburgh
Loren M. Edwards, Denver
Paul F. Swarthout, Brattleboro
Bishop Wise, Topeka
J. G. Graham, Mercersburg
E. W. Chippinger, Decatur
M. W. Johnson, Akron
Geo. L. Nuckolls, Detroit
F. B. Davis, Saginaw
A. J. Marsh, Lawrence
R. T. Brumbaugh, Tacoma
C. H. Clerke, South Bend
David Paton, Johnstown
John Ray Ewers, Pittsburgh
Ryland Knight, St. Louis
H. B. Washburn, Cambridge
W. H. Stark, Cleveland
E. T. Allen, Walla Walla
J. W. Boyer, Vincennes
Geo. A. Andrews, Tucson
Willsie Martin, Los Angeles
P. L. Benedict, South Bend
R. C. Russell, Kansas City
R. E. Day, San Francisco
E. F. Ferris, Portland
F. L. Hall, Cleveland
C. F. Odell, Portland
H. F. Randolph, Wilkes-Barre
C. W. Boag, Green Bay
C. P. Kirby, Cadillac
John L. Brandt, Los Angeles
John R. Pennington, Mankato
Almon A. Jaynes, Utica
H. M. Ramsey, Portland
Lewis G. Rogers, Buffalo
Allen Duncan, Moberly

No

Bishop Richardson, Philadelphia
W. B. Thorp, Palo Alto
C. L. McPherson, Lynchburg
J. F. Fraser, New York
B. G. Lee, Sacramento
J. F. English, Manchester
Claude C. Coile, Yonkers
A. Ralph Lynn, Rochester
E. B. Martin, Chattanooga
B. A. Hodges, Waxahachie
M. B. Wright, Philadelphia
Max Wiant, Harrisburg
Ambrose W. Vernon, Hanover
P. S. Johnson, La Grange
Geo. W. Downs, New York
H. C. Slater, Redlands
Leroy E. Viets, Fort Scott
Robert Lee Webb, Boston
B. S. McKenzie, San Antonio
H. G. Finney, Fayetteville
E. N. Tompkins, Sioux City
W. M. Hart, Portsmouth
Arthur W. Cleaves,Providence
Bishop Parsons, San Francisco
J. S. Wilson, Buffalo
Wm. Porter Lee, Philadelphia
B. F. Holme, Detroit
Hy. R. Best, Billings
A. C. Baldwin, Philadelphia
Willard D. Brown, New York
F. C. Goodspeed, Oakland
Wm. J. Sharp, Tacoma
James Benson, Rockford
Albert C. Knudson, Boston
Rowland Hill, Colorado Springs
George F. Sibley, Amherst
N. B. Nash, Cambridge
W. S. Turner, Atlanta
H. E. Walhey, Philadelphia
J. H. O. Smith, Oklahoma City
John L. Lawrence, Rochester
R. W. Hobbs, Grand Island
V. Junker, Watertown
R. C. Raines, Minneapolis
J. M. Wishart, Carnegie
John F. Vines, Kansas City
H. N. Arrowsmith, Baltimore
G. D. Gossard, Annville
Robt. M. Campbell, Johnstown
Colby D. Hall, Fort Worth
L. K. Grimes, Milwaukee
John Calhoun, Philadelphia
Wm. J. Hutchinson, Cleveland
Wm. B. Lampe, St. Louis
Paul E. Davies, St. Paul
B. Goodfield, Santa Barbara
W. G. Ballantine, Springfield
Andrew Mutch, Bryn Mawr
Bishop Sturtevant, Appleton

7. *Could you conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime?*

Yes

Bishop Oldham, Albany
Daniel A. Poling, New York
Chester B. Emerson, Detroit
Christian F. Reisner, New York
Luther A. Weigle, New Haven
Bishop Clippinger, Dayton
J. M. Magruder, Annapolis
Chas. S. Macfarland, New York
Bishop Garland, Philadelphia
Henry A. Atkinson, New York
Boyd Edwards, Mercersburg
Bishop Rowe, Alaska
C. B. DuBell, Philadelphia
Bishop Babcock, Boston
J. R. Edwards, Albuquerque
R. M. Blackburn, Reading
M. M. McDivitt, Pittsburgh
J. W. Birchall, Madison
D. W. Crawford, Knoxville
R. M. Davis, Erie
A. W. Jefferson, Lynn
H. H. Peters, Bloomington
M. E. Mott, Springfield
R. F. Leavens, Berkeley
Homer Baumgardner, Columbus
J. B. Cavitt, Albuquerque
Walter H. Smith, Utica
H. L. Wilhelm, Seattle
J. R. Wood, Reading
S. J. Mathieson, Denver
Willard H. Dickinson, Aberdeen
F. C. Sherman, Cleveland
H. S. Wilkinson, Ames
Frank E. Day, Minneapolis
J. F. Claycombe, Paducah
F. V. Fisher, Washington
John A. Tate, Richmond
E. Ruffin Jones, Norfolk
H. W. Starr, Charleston
Henry H. Ranck, Washington
Geo. F. Klein, Pueblo
W. K. Chatten, St. Louis
John Welsh, Vincennes
Leon Stewart, Fort Collins
T. T. Richards, Scranton
Kenneth C. MacArthur, Boston
C. M. Yocum, Indianapolis
Cranston Brenton, New York
Floyd W. Tomkins, Philadelphia
Victor E. Marriott, Chicago
George E. Farrar, Jacksonville
George Harlow, Tacoma
S. B. Knowlton, Bristol
W. O. Jones, Seattle
T. V. Parker, Binghamton
R. S. Burris, Columbus
C. E. McAllister, Baltimore
E. S. Dunlap, Washington
R. H. Stafford, Boston

Yes

Wm. B. Lower, Philadelphia
Earl Hoon, Seattle
O. M. Andrews, St. Petersburg
J. W. Francis, Altoona
S. R. McCurdy, Muskegon
W. M. Wilson, Terre Haute
C. E. Jackson, Grand Rapids
Miles B. Fisher, Berkeley
L. A. Brenner, Milwaukee
Wm. H. Sugden, Wilkes-Barre
Chas. McHarness, Lewiston
Max W. Burke, Iowa City
John Bunyan Smith, San Diego
R. B. Day, Hartford
W. D. Waller, Santa Fe
Allan Billman, Lake Forest
L. W. Harvison, Cincinnati
Ira Freeman, Pittsburgh
E. Bruce Price, Fitchburg
Alfred E. Barrows, Washington
John W. Ekwall, Macon
Kenneth B. Willes, Albany
Oscar P. Campbell, Hartford
C. Leslie Glenn, Cambridge
James W. Bean, Canton
E. M. Freyschlag, Fayetteville
H. B. McClanahan, Indianapolis
Harold E. Doty, Redondo Beach
J. W. Vallentyne, Portland
C. R. Stauffer, Atlanta
W. S. Westerman, Dayton
E. F. Rippey, Minneapolis
James S. West, San Francisco
Chas. W. Carroll, Philadelphia
Wallace MacMullen, NewYork
E. P. Cochran, Los Angeles
H. L. Olewiler, Marion
James R. Swain, Philadelphia
Paul B. Rains, Kansas City
George E. Price, Plattsburg
James Thomas, Cincinnati
W. D. MacClintoch, Chicago
H. K. Holtzinger, San Diego
P. W. Macaulay, Cleveland
R. D. Steele, Pittsburgh
Thos. H. Mee, Sacramento
H. B. Williams, New Bedford
H. G. Greensmith, Rochester
Robt. R. Read, Columbus
Edgar R. Hyde, New York
Herbert E. Hays, Douglas
Milton W. Pullen, New York
J. B. Ferguson, Indianapolis
F. E. Cooper, Council Bluffs
Alexander J. Kerr, Middletown
E. F. Partridge, Salt Lake City
Wm. H. Hopkins, Albany
Raymond A. Smith, Fort Worth
Bishop Moreland, Sacramento

No

Charles F. Aked, Los Angeles
Robert R. Wicks, Princeton
Doremus Scudder, Claremont
Herbert L. Willett, Chicago
John L. Lobingier, Boston
Hugh Elmer Brown, Evanston
Harold H. Griffis, Los Angeles
R. H. Moorman, Topeka
Fleming James, New Haven
Curtis W. Reese, Chicago
W. C. Timmons, St. Louis
Herbert A. Jump, Newton
D. Stanley Coors, Kalamazoo
Edmond B. Chaffee, New York
L. E. Wimbrow, Wilmington
Wm. A. Motter, Buffalo
Myron C. Settle, Chicago
H. L. Durrant, Louisville
S. C. Stall, Norwood
King D. Beach, Baltimore
H. W. Wylie, Clinton
H.W. Ellinger, Kalamazoo
F. L. Anderson, Utica
Chas. E. Sebold, Butte
S. W. Hutton, Fort Worth
Andrew H. Harnly, Saginaw
H. J. Hahn, Buffalo
Wm. J. Campbell, Nashville
W. W. Bowers, Waterloo
Kenneth E. Morse, New York
Wm. F. Rothenberger, Indianapolis
Eliot White, New York City
Newell L. Sims, Oberlin
P. S. Heath, Wilkes-Barre
Oscar Ray Powell, Topeka
Robt. L. Calhoun, New Haven
Benjamin S. Ferrall, Buffalo
B. S. Winchester, New York
E. M. McKown, Wellesley
J. C. Wiley, Jamaica
Russell F. Thrapp, Alhambra
W. G. Harter, Sedalia
N. D. Kelley, Camden
J. H. Tonjes, Milwaukee
F. W. Hatch, Santa Monica
David Jones Evans, Rochester
W. S. Lockhart, Houston
A. T. Phillips, Mount Vernon
Clarence R. Skinner, Boston
M. R. Reed, Ypsilanti
Fred Young, Sioux Falls
Geo. T. Tolson, Berkeley
Marvin O. Sansbury, Seattle
H. C. Smith, Riverside
E. H. Holman, St. Paul
L. G. Horton, Providence
Alexander C. Purdy, Hartford
John P. Sala, Buffalo

No

E. W. Lyman, New York
W. R. Polhamus, Knoxville
Ray S. Dum, Salt Lake City
M. P. Boynton, Chicago
John R. Siemens, Duluth
A. L.Byron-Curtis, Utica
H. D. Henry, Iowa City
Ralph M. Felix, New Castle
C. W. Finwall, Fargo
JohnWright Buckham, Berkeley
Curry M. Spidell, Bellows Falls
E. M. Tasman, Lansing
M. J. Creeger, Middletown
Ilion T. Jones, San Antonio
E. M. Martinson, Marion
Henry B. Robins, Rochester
Herbert H. Byler, Albion
C. H. Collett, New York
W. H. Fowler, Cincinnati
E. E. Stringfellow, Des Moines
A. Duryee, New York
Marcus Grether, Oak Park
R. K. Merker, Pittsburgh
Alfred V. Bliss, Boston
R. G. Pierson, Pittsburgh
G. M. Hoffmann, Minneapolis
M. Q. Stevenson, Chillicothe
Harvey E. Holt, Columbus
Hugh Orchard, Cedar Rapids
W. M. Taylor, Ashtabula
J. B. Noss, Lancaster
H. L. Hodges, Baltimore
A. S. Nickless, Detroit
Wm. S. Chase, Brooklyn
J. Clyde Keegan, Greeley
Clarence G. Miller, Wooster
C. R. Osborn, Chicago
H. S. Brewster, Fargo
A. A. Heist, Indianapolis
E. J. Warren, Detroit
J. H. Gamble, Grand Forks
Gaylord S. White, New York
R. M. Stahl, Baltimore
H. B. Hostettler, Indianapolis
C. F. Shaw, Asbury Park
E. G. Kaufman, Bluffton
R. C. Jackson, Winfield
Wendell P. Keeler, Yonkers
J. W. Eaveld, Omaha
Archibald McClure, South Bend
J. F. Shepherd, Eustis
H. C. Garrison, Austin
J. T. Mordy, Des Moines
J. F. Edwards, Huntington
E. E. Chipman, Hamilton
M. B. Strickland, Brooklyn
L. Q. Haynes, Waterville
E. J. Lee, Chatham
Harold L. Stratton, Worcester

"The military force of the United States has never been a hindrance to any other nation so far as I know," writes E. H. Cissna, of Hutsonville, Illinois. "Most people who are wanting this country to disarm still keep locks on their doors, and want the city and highways patrolled with officers, heavily armed. The men at the head of our government ought to know what is best to do. I am willing to rest the case in their hands. I am for my government. If Uncle Sam says we must go to war, I am ready as I was before and as my fathers were in other days. However, I think there is too much talk about war, and peace in our land. We need to rest the subject for a while, and go to work in a brotherly way to make a better world for tomorrow."

A different reason is set forth by Y. D. Poole, of Parmele, North Carolina: "I wish to say that I am in favor of preparedness at any time, and for anything not only for our armies and navies to fight other worlds or nations, but to have peace and order in our country. The governor of our state had to call out troops some four or five times this year last. If it had not been for them, numbers of people would have been killed. I am in favor of military training. The colored race is hoping that soon we will get so good, we will lay down our arms, so they can begin on us. So I am in favor of being ready for anything." Albert C. Hoover, of Goshen, Indiana, says: "God knows, as well as some of the rest of us, that there are ministers today in many of the churches of our land who want 'American protection' but who are puppets in the hands of the 'red element' and whether ignorantly—or otherwise—are fostering and feeding a spirit of communism in America. If they like the communist form of doctrine and life, then let them depart for the country of the muttering, long-whiskered, hellish tribe of that land. I for one, am even suspicious of some whose names appear at the bottom of the letter enclosed with this questionnaire, as being sympathetic if not close friends of the communists and believers in their teachings. If mistaken, then please pardon; but if not then take it for what it is worth. I am not speaking ignorantly —thought it may seem that way to some—for I served three years during the World War and went through four major engagements during that time and have about fourteen years behind me in the regular component and the reserve. This may explain some things I have said."

Abandon Armed Intervention

"If our citizens invest money in foreign lands," declares C. Dewey Smitley, of Spangler, Pennsylvania, "let them abide by the laws of that land, and depend entirely upon that land to protect them. We should not keep an army in China or any other foreign land. If our wealthy men want more riches by foreign investments, let them take the risks that come without protection from their home government. One American life lost in protecting Standard Oil's interests in Mexico is worth more than all its millions. Why lose a life to save any man's money? It isn't worth it. It is also wrong to send armies to protect our Christian missionaries. If they cannot carry themselves in such a way while in foreign territory as to win the love and confidence of the citizens of that land, our guns can never win it for them nor advance the cause of Christ." H. W. Munster, of Letts, Iowa, says: "This intervention hurts rather than helps the missionaries. Rascals and unscrupulous men do not deserve our protection, and honest men will generally identify themselves more closely with the people among whom they live, thus avoiding difficulties. Trade wars are the greatest menace to world peace and should not be permitted to draw us into the vortex of open hostilities."

Walter K. Beattie, of Eureka, Pennsylvania, feels that "business men enter other countries often for purposes of exploitation and large profit. They should be told in advance that the hazard will be theirs and that their interests will not be permitted to bring into jeopardy the peace of their countrymen. Some of our missionaries are sent too far into the interior of countries where there is little hope of any protection from the local authorities. I have found that some of the missionaries themselves share this opinion with me. Armed intervention should be stopped." "The day of economic imperialism is past," writes Ovil B. Cole, of Edon, Ohio. "Each nation must develop to the full its own resources, markets, etc., and carry on a friendly and intelligent commerce with other nations. I have no sympathy with allowing a single American citizen or group of citizens who call themselves corporations to go into backward nations in any part of the world and outbargain and steal from its backward citizens their resources. When those citizens become educated and 'get wise' to the way they have been exploited, they demand justice and often take the lives of some of our American citizens. I repudiate any national policy that will sanction the making of war on these outwitted citizens of other nations."

Protect Life and Property

Wallace T. McAfee, of Palm Springs, California, draws upon his own experience: "I was in Nanking, China, when our gunboats fired, March 24, 1927. Then I saw the evil, the evil of some men who often talk loudest for peace, over-generalizing at a distance. That my life was saved was of no moment, but I do appreciate our sparing the Chinese from making a terrible blot on their history." "Certainly not!" exlaims John R. Hand, of Lanark, Illinois. "What would the fanaticism of Russia or China care for all the pacific measures that could be taken. One might as well try to pacify a Bengal tiger by saying 'nice kitty.' And assuming that the end might be so accomplished, how much good would it do the citizen after his house had been burned, his property destroyed, and his family ravished? A million dollars in reparations does not pay for the defilment of one innocent girl. There is only one way to handle a beast, be it a four-legged one or a two-legged one. Eventually either may be tamed, but until that end is accomplished, force must be used." Byron H. Thomas, of Eastport, Maine, asserts that "the typewriter is a poor weapon of defense. It made the loss of the Lusitania possible."

"I believe the ultimate destiny of the United States is to be the protection and guide of backward peoples," writes William Curtis White, of Baltimore. "This will require the use of armed forces for police purposes, at least for a time." The idea is upheld by W. L. Elliott, of Bradshaw, Nebraska, that "we must police certain Central American states when those states themselves fail to do so. This does not mean to carry on war, but corresponds to the use of militia in time of riot or disaster." "The Monroe Doctrine demands our present policy," says M. G. Wilkinson, of Bristow, Oklahoma. "Short article by Calvin Coolidge attached." J. R. Browne, of Axtell, Kansas, declares: "A nation that will not protect its citizens in other countries will soon lose the respect of other nations, and the way would be open for any country to take American lives and property. And America would rapidly sink to a sixth power nation without any influence abroad." "The United States made a mistake in

letting Cuba and old Mexico go after our conquest," believes Tellef C. Peterson, of Toledo. "The United States must conquer these a second time and hold them."

Excommunicate War

"I think it is time for the ministers of the Gospel to quit carrying the Bible in one hand and the dripping sword in the other," exclaims Jesse C. Shull, of Virginia, Illinois. "We must be consistent, and either take Jesus seriously on the war question, or forfeit our right to lay the claims of Jesus upon any moral issue on the conscience of mankind. I regard the militarism that grips all civilized nations today as a direct, abject form of slavery. The whole human race is in slavery to the God of Mars. . . . The times demand more ministers of religion who are as courageous in their pulpits in preaching peace as the soldiers are in the trenches in time of war. Millions die for peace through war, but there is a more excellent way." Gordon Phillips, of Detroit, is convinced that "we have pussy-footed on this question, as a Christian Church, too long. It is time for us to stop passing nicely worded, but nonetheless compromising and accommodating resolutions, and take a stand which shall be incapable of equivocation. Christianity and the whole war system are antithetical. War is not the way of love, peace, or goodwill. No defense can be offered for a system which is nothing short of legalizing the most hideous, devilish and brutal forms of murder."

"In my judgment, insofar as the problem confronts the church, this is the most important question of all," writes S. P. Pryor, of Flemingsburg, Kentucky. "If in the future the church becomes merely an adjunct of the government, as it did in the World War, offering itself as an ally of the government in the prosecution of war, its attitude will amount to a deliberate repudiation of Christ, and tens of thousands of devout Christians will simply desert it. The future of the church is bound up with its attitude on this question; when the next war comes, it must have a message for the nation, instead of taking orders from the government." Leslie O. Dabritz, of Kermon, California speaks out of experience: "May I state that I served overseas during the World War in the Infantry, Co. D., 364, 91st Division. I left a student pastorate to go to the army with a holy zeal to lay down my life if necessary for a great cause. But upon reaching camp I began to get my eyes open. One day a high officer came out on the drill ground. Thousands of men were called to attention. Then with a commanding voice, there rang out of that lordly officer these words, 'I want you to forget that *lie* the church told you.' Three times he repeated those words; then he said, 'You are not going to die for your country—you are going out to get the other fellow!' I confess what he said seemed to be true as we went through hell over there."

"It is rather futile to expect the churches to go on record as refusing to sanction any war in the future," declares T. Malcolm Jones, of Scobey, Montana, "because the majority of the churches of today are dependent for support on the capitalistic class, and when capital is in danger, war is its only means of defending itself. If a clergyman in an influential church opens his mouth in condemnation of such a system, he is immediately out of a job. And today most clergymen are so fixed financially that they feel they have to hold on to their jobs at any cost. The church today may be upholding a religion, but it certainly is not the religion of Jesus." "When the Church of Jesus Christ is willing to hang on a cross, she will save the world—not before,' writes Joseph Lindsay, of Silver Creek, New York. "At the present time, I think she is too concerned with comfort and ease and is willing to advance human causes so long as the cost is not too high. When the church can create men and women who will suffer for peace, what men have suffered for war, then we will make progress."

Churches Should Be Loyal to State

Verne B. Newhouse, of Soda Springs, Idaho, says: "Personally I do not think it should be the church's business to condemn such a thing. Strife is still pretty deep in the blood of us all and there are some conditions under which we would all fight, either personally or in a group. If this would be so, I think the church has greater work to do. I do not believe in the church staking itself to a post like that so as to cut itself off from many good souls. I feel that many Christian people would be offended, and justly so, by such a move. I believe we can do our work for peace without dogmatic rulings and prohibitions, officially." "The churches have no business either to sanction or support any war or to refuse to do so. They have nothing to do with it," declares Theodore F. Hahn, of Scranton, Pennsylvania.

"I believe that the churches should leave this matter alone," writes George L. Snyder, of Loyalton, California. "This is a political question. The reason men go to war is because of the condition of men's hearts. God alone can change a man's heart and viewpoint, and I think that the churches would do much more to do away with war, if they specialize in winning men to a saving knowledge of Christ. That will settle every moral, commercial, or social question for him. At present, if churchmen should refuse to assist our country in time of war, they should be deported as enemies of America." D. B. Kessinger believes that "the church of America is entirely out of order when it attempts as an institution to intimidate the Government regard-

Some Think Me Crazy !

"I shall not complain if you beat me. I have no bodyguard," Mahatma Gandhi told a deputation of hostile Redshirts who called upon him to demand why he had not saved Bhagat Singh, hanged at Lahore for the murder of a British police official. "God alone keeps vigil over me. Some think me crazy, some a fool because of my love for my enemies, but it is the very foundation of my whole life's work and creed.

"I have nothing left to sacrifice. I have no worldly possessions. I am a beggar. But the day that India abandons the sacred principle of non-violence, I shall let my fragile body perish. If you say that I am doing harm to India, you have a right to do so; but it is my duty to turn you to the path of affection and truth. I have no weapon against you except love; let none take upon himself the duty of protecting me. God alone can do that."

Before the Mahatma had finished, his antagonists were sobbing. All left in a humble, penitent mood.—*N. Y. Times.*

ing its relations with other governments. This is another unfair question. It assumes that the church sanctions war. It does not nor has it ever sanctioned any war. The gentlemen whose signatures are attached to your communication should know this. It has supported righteous causes both in peace and war and will doubtless continue to do so. Its ministry is to the souls of men. To fail in such a crisis would be treason."

"No. That would put the Church on a level with bootleggers," declares Oliver C. Johnson, of Prairie du Sac, Wisconsin. Charles L. Hocking, of Tracy, Minnesota, says: "The peace movement will fail if our opponents can successfully point to our cracked-headedness." "Such an action on the part of the churches," writes Ira M. Williams, of Scottsburg, Indiana, "would do more to retard the progress of the church than any other thing. Patriotism is not an antiquated sentiment. The Church of Christ cannot afford to play at anarchy or rebellion in any form or manner, nor can she fail to protect the interests of a nation which gives her protection. I can not think of Christ being either unpatriotic or cowardly." "I think the churches of America should be the very last of the nation's institutions to turn slackers and cowards by deserting it in its hour of need," says Alfred A. Pruden, of Washington, D. C., "and I have too much faith in the rank and file of the membership of the churches to believe, for one moment, that they will do such a dastardly thing, though I regret to say that I fear some of their unworthy leaders would do so."

It is the conviction of Victor M. Thompson, of Falls Creek, Pennsylvania, that "war has always been necessary for the maintenance of law and order and the establishment of any civilization. God has often used it as the 'scalpel with which to remove the festering sores of sinful humanity.' War will always be present until the establishment of the rule of the Prince of Peace, the empty clamor of modernists and pacifists notwithstanding." William Carter, of Brooklyn, inquires: "What is behind this questionnaire? Is it communism, bolshevism or rank anarchism? Do you realize that any man who answers 'Yes' to that question could be arrested—and would be in case of war—for disloyalty, perjury, and treason? To my mind it is treason to ask it. My answer is, of course, emphatically in the negative."

Individuals Should Refuse War Service

Carl N. Garland, of Augusta, Maine, refers to his own experience: "Have been bombed, under gas, and shelled repeatedly. Served with stretcher-bearers under fire. Saw much of the front-line conditions. It's the most diabolically useless of all human effort. . . . I think it time that all Christians refuse to fight that way for anything. I'm quite willing to 'tell the world.'" "Although a 100 per cent supporter of the United States in the World War," says Owen Livengood, of Aurora, Ohio, "I am now convinced that all violent means of settling international disputes are contrary to the mind and spirit of Christ." "Emphatically yes!" is the response made by R. B. S. Spurlock, of Mendon, Michigan, as to whether he would refuse to participate in any future war; "I served as a private in our army overseas during the World War. I was in the Argonne and saw the awful carnage and destruction of human life. We were then fighting for what we thought was an ideal, 'a war to end war,' and using President Wilson's slogan, 'To make the world safe for democracy.' But the sight of it all and the reaction afterwards has been exceedingly disillusioning."

"My country owes me an apology," exclaims Robert Andrew Neal Wilson, of DeSoto, Missouri. "It put into my mouth or allowed to be put there lies about the cruelty of Germany and her allies in order to stir up hate. As a minister I went all over my country telling these lies, believing I was telling the truth. When the truth finally came through, I became a pacifist and I'll go to jail a thousand times over before I'll allow my government to use me again like that." Harold Hamilton, of Algonac, Michigan, writes: "I so thoroughly believe in the outlawry of war that I could go to prison rather than sanction the murder (for I believe that the killing of men even under the plea of loyalty to one's country is murder) of my brothers. In my opinion all war is wrong to man, and hateful to God." "I am glad that the influential Einstein is taking a positive stand on this question," says Albert C. Loucks, of Conifer, New York. "I have for some time believed that there should be an international anti-war league, and that the millions should be invited to pledge themselves as pacifists. If two or three million of the young men in each of the leading nations—especially the working men—should sign as absolute pacifists, the hopes of the blind war promoters would perish, and the friends of peace could reap such a harvest of good-will and commercial cooperation as the world has never known."

Herbert M. Frazer, of Dayton, goes on record in these words: "In April 1917 I enlisted as a private in the Machine Gun Company of the 166th Inf., Rainbow Division, serving continuously with that division until its discharge in May 1919—eighteen months of which was served in France. My service medal carries five bars indicating my participation in four major battles and French warfare. I am now Chaplain of the Ohio Chapter of Rainbow Veterans, which office I do not consider as having a military significance. I know from firsthand experience the strange paradox which exists between those whom we term our 'national enemies' and those same 'enemies' as we met, attempted to kill, and then embraced them in the trenches and open battlefields. May God banish the curse forever from our world. I shall never again engage in so damnable a scourge as war."

"In a good-natured discussion in a class recently," writes Paul Turner, of York, Nebraska, "I made the remark that in the event of war I would oppose it, and even go to Ft. Leavenworth rather than to surrender my convictions on the matter. An elderly man said, 'that is precisely the thing that certain wets are saying—that is, disobey the laws of the country'. My rejoinder was that the difference was that I was willing to suffer the punishment my country would mete out, and I doubted if many wets were willing to go to jail for their convictions against the Eighteenth Amendment."

"I recently announced from my pulpit that I would never take the least part in another war, either a war of defense or aggression, that I would never pray for the success of arms," writes Carey S. Osborn, Amsterdam, New York. "There can be no possible excuse for war in this day. I expected to be taken to task by some but to my surprise with very few exceptions the 880 members of my congregation congratulated me and took the same stand." Wayne White, of New York, says: "Permit me to give credit to the educational work of two organizations, which in addition to my church experience and seminary training (Chicago Theological and Union) have helped to bring me to the absolute point of view in international pacifism. They are the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters' League. I would unhesitatingly urge every clergyman to acquaint himself with these movements and to use their material and act upon the membership statements."

Slavery Was Upheld as Divine

Dr. Leonard Bacon, a church historian, says: "There seems to be no reason to doubt the entire sincerity with which the Southern church, in all its sects, had consecrated itself with religious devotion to the maintenance of that horrible and inhuman form of slavery which had drawn upon itself the condemnation of the civilized world. The common sentiment of Southern Christianity was expressed in that serious declaration of the Southern Presbyterian Church during the war of its 'deep conviction of the divine appointment of domestic servitude' and of the 'peculiar mission of the Southern church to conserve the institution of slavery.' "—*History American Christianity, p. 346.*

On Thanksgiving Day, 1860, in the First Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, the pastor, Dr. B. M. Palmer, expressed the conviction that it was the "providential trust" of the Southern people "to conserve and to perpetuate the institution of domestic slavery as now existing. . . . The position of the South is at this moment sublime. If she has grace given her to know her hour, she will save herself, the country and the world."—*Slavery a Divine Trust, pp. 7, 19.*

In 1858, during the course of a debate with another minister, the Reverend W. G. Brownlow said: "Not only will I throughout this discussion openly and boldly take the ground that slavery as it exists in America ought to be perpetuated, but that slavery is an established and inevitable condition to human society. I will maintain the ground that God always intended the relation of master and slave to exist . . . that slavery having existed ever since the first organization of society, it will exist to the end of time."—*Ought American Slavery To Be Perpetuated?*

Chancellor William Harper quoted with enthusiasm from an article which said: "Slavery has done more to elevate a degraded race in the scale of humanity; to tame the savage; to civilize the barbarous; to soften the ferocious; to enlighten the ignorant, and to spread the blessings of Christianity among the heathen, than all the missionaries that philanthropy and religion have ever sent forth."—*The Pro-Slavery Argument, p. 60.*

The Reverend James Wilson called slavery "that gracious and benevolent system which elevates the heathen cannibal into the contented, civilized, intelligent, and happy domestics we see around us. Nay more, into humble, faithful, and most joyous worshippers of the true and everlasting God. Bless God for such a system. We don't apologize for slavery, we glory in it, and no society shall exist within our borders that disqualifies or stigmatizes the slave trade."—*Report of Anti-Slavery Society of New York, 1860, p. 281.*

In 1852 appeared the fifth edition of a volume by the Reverend Josiah Priest entitled *Bible Defence of Slavery.* A total of 469 pages is devoted to proving the thesis that slavery came from God.

In the Mercier *Luminary* J. Cable once wrote: "Those who know anything about slavery, know that the worst kind is jobbing slavery—that is, the hiring out of slaves from year to year. What shocked me more than anything else was the church engaged in this jobbing of slaves. The college church which I attended, and which was attended by all the students of Hampden Sydney College and Union Theological Seminary (Va.), held slaves enough to pay their pastor, Mr. Stanton, one thousand dollars a year. The slaves, who had been left to the church by some pious mother in Israel, had increased so as to be a large and still increasing fund. These were hired out on Christmas day of each year, the day in which they celebrate the birth of our blessed Saviour, to the highest bidder. There were four other churches near the college church that supported the pastor, in whole or in part, in the same way."—*Parker Pillsbury, The Church As It Is, p. 69.*

"One candidate was refused ordination by Virginia conference in 1825 'for disaffection to our government,' the reason for the refusal being an attack upon slavery. . . . Philadelphia conference refused to receive Matlack as a traveling preacher because he had assisted in the organization of an anti-slavery society. One member declared that even if the applicant were 'as pious as St. Paul and as talented as an angel, he should never enter this conference as an abolitionist' if he were able to prevent it."—*C. B. Swaney, Episcopal Methodism and Slavery, pp. 23, 71.*

"The Legislature of Georgia, in 1831 offered a reward of $5,000 for the arrest and conviction of Garrison under the laws of Georgia. The Southern press went into paroxysm of clamorous rage. . . . 'How imminent is the danger that hovers about the persons of our friends, George Thompson and Arthur Tappan!' writes Garrison to George Benson. 'Rewards for the seizure of the latter are multiplying—in one place they offer three thousand dollars *for his ears*—a purse has been made up publicly, of $20,000, in New Orleans for his person. I, too,—I desire to bless God,—am involved in almost equal peril. I have just received a letter written evidently by a friendly hand, in which I am appraised that my life is sought after, and a reward of $20,000 has been offered for my head by six Mississippians.' "—*Chapman, William Lloyd Garrison, pp. 48, 107.*

"It was between 1830 and 1840 that the real work of Garrison was done. At the beginning of that decade Abolition was a cry in the wilderness: at the end of it, Abolition was a part of the American mind. . . . Garrison was the focus, the exchange, the center and heart of anti-slavery activity. He was the channel into which the new streams flowed. If a drop of Abolition fell from the sky anywhere in America, it was found in the *Liberator* upon the following morning. . . . The continuousness of Garrison is appalling, and fatigues even the retrospective imagination of posterity: he is like an all-night hotel: he is possessed: he is like something let loose. I dread the din of him. I cover my head and fix my mind on other things; but there is Garrison hammering away, till he catches my eye and forces me to attend to him. If Garrison can do this to me, who am protected from dread of him by eighty years of intervening time, think how his lash must have fallen upon the thin skins of our ancestors!"—*John Jay Chapman, William Lloyd Garrison, pp. 97-99.*

"The Abolition leaders were, nevertheless, drawn largely from the clerical ranks; but they were Unitarians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, etc., and were generally driven from their own pupits in consequence of their opinions about Slavery."—*John Jay Chapman, William Lloyd Garrison, p. 20.*

Returns From Theological Seminaries

	Total Replies	Yes	No	In Doubt	No Answer	Percentage Answering Yes	Percentage Answering No
1. Do you favor the immediate entrance of the United States into the League of Nations?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	832	66	195	8	76	06
Garrett	134	98	4	31	1	73	03
Union	125	109	5	11	—	87	04
Yale	124	106	4	13	1	85	03
Boston	113	93	2	17	1	82	02
Miscellaneous	605	426	51	123	5	70	08
2. Do you favor military training in our public high schools and civilian colleges or universities?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	77	988	31	5	07	90
Garrett	134	3	125	5	1	02	93
Union	125	4	117	4	—	03	94
Yale	124	6	117	1	—	05	94
Boston	113	6	105	1	1	05	93
Miscellaneous	605	58	524	20	3	10	87
3. Do you favor substantial reductions in armaments even if the United States is compelled to take the initiative and make a proportionately greater reduction than other nations are yet willing to do?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	984	73	41	3	89	06
Garrett	134	122	8	3	1	91	06
Union	125	120	4	1	—	96	03
Yale	124	117	5	2	—	94	04
Boston	113	107	4	2	—	94	04
Miscellaneous	605	518	52	33	2	86	09
4. Do you believe that the policy of armed intervention in other lands by our Government to protect the lives and property of American citizens should be abandoned and protective efforts confined to pacific means?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	850	119	128	4	77	11
Garrett	134	102	24	7	1	76	17
Union	125	112	9	4	—	90	07
Yale	124	105	3	16	—	85	02
Boston	113	95	6	11	1	84	05
Miscellaneous	605	436	77	90	2	72	13
5. Do you believe that the churches of America should now go on record as refusing to sanction or support any future war?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	870	130	95	6	79	12
Garrett	134	112	11	9	2	84	08
Union	125	106	8	11	—	85	06
Yale	124	107	9	8	—	86	07
Boston	113	101	3	9	—	89	03
Miscellaneous	605	444	99	58	4	73	16
6. Are you personally prepared to state that it is your present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as an armed combatant?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	792	173	128	8	72	16
Garrett	134	99	15	18	2	74	11
Union	125	102	11	12	—	82	09
Yale	124	99	13	11	1	80	11
Boston	113	91	12	9	1	81	11
Miscellaneous	605	401	122	78	4	66	20
7. Could you conscientiously serve as an official army chaplain on active duty in wartime?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	301	556	228	16	27	50
Garrett	134	23	83	23	5	17	62
Union	125	19	78	24	4	16	62
Yale	124	21	76	27	—	17	61
Boston	113	17	60	34	2	15	53
Miscellaneous	605	221	259	120	5	37	43
8. Do you regard the distinction between "defensive" and "aggressive" war as sufficiently valid to justify your sanctioning or participating in a future war of "defense"?							
Summary of all responding*	1,101	229	681	184	7	21	62
Garrett	134	21	80	31	2	16	60
Union	125	15	98	12	—	12	78
Yale	124	17	83	22	2	14	67
Boston	113	11	83	18	1	10	73
Miscellaneous	605	165	337	101	2	27	56

* Approximately 3,000 questionnaires were sent to theological seminaries. In a few cases the administration felt unable to cooperate, hence no returns from these institutions are available. Detailed replies from 17 seminaries will be sent upon request.

Pledges Are Unwise

William L. Manny, of Walnut, Illinois, summarizes his attitude as follows: "I have not reached that point in Christian thinking wherein I believe that we must dispense with all our police forces, bank guards, detectives, etc., and give our institutions and our personal safety into the hands of the criminal class. I believe in protection against violent and criminal men. In exact parallel I believe in protection against violent and criminal nations. I do not consider any nation a criminal nation at present, but I can find the record of such nations in history. I understand the power of propaganda, and the danger of 'war psychology' and the difficulty of determining the guilty nation. But with all this I still hold, and I think I will always hold the right to decide for myself, in each specific instance, my own attitude toward each individual future war which may arise."

Emery L. Bradford says: "I believe the churches, one and all, and every right-minded man, should yoke-in-together, and pull together, and pull until the load is delivered, until the curse and scourge of war is a forgotten memory of barbarism; but to say that I would never fight for any cause or under any circumstances, No Sir! I would consider myself a lily-livered paltroon. But you do not care about that—you want a 'Yes' and 'No' answer." "I served in the World War and have no conscientious twinges over it except that I did not get in sooner," writes Warren Eugene Shirey, of Robinson, Illinois. William A. Aiken, of Fort du Pont, Delaware, declares that "duty to country is not determined by private judgment." "That is *treason!*" is the comment made by M. A. Robeson, of Fulton, Illinois, with regard to the refusal to participate in any future war.

S. J. Hedelund, Moorhead, Minnesota, says: "I believe it is Scriptural that Christians must stand behind the government even to bearing arms, though Christians know that war is of the devil, and the turning loose of the powers of hell. The responsibility falls on the government, not on the individual." A minister who prefers to be unnamed writes: "I have been an army chaplain, continuously since May 4, 1917. I shall be compulsorily retired for age on May 4, 1950, unless I get killed fighting within the ranks of a pacifist and unprepared army before that date. I shall remember the immortal words of Nathan Hale and gladly offer my life to my country, America, in *any* war in which she may engage, and without any question on my part as to whether my country is justly or unjustly engaged in that war." "I regard war as a national duty," writes Frederick O. Musser, Easton, Pennsylvania, "not only for self-defense but for other causes too—e.g., the Spanish American War, the Civil War, neither of them for self-defense, but both morally right."

Edgar C. Irwin, of Karns City, Pennsylvania, outlines his position as follows: "I hold that there is no place in the ethics of Jesus for the institution of war. The only question in my mind is: belonging to a race given to war through the larger part of its existence and now having successfully established world supremacy through war, if it then decides that it will indulge in that device no longer, can it reasonably expect the rest of the world to follow its example under those terms? The white race already holds all the best lands and possessions of the world and by a renunciation of war under such conditions it has everything to gain and nothing to lose, while the races who have been held in abeyance by the very threat of war have by the same terms everything to lose and nothing to gain. The question becomes this: Am I willing unreservedly under any and all conditions, when those conditions might conceivably involve being pushed from one's own home and fireside, to make way for a more rapidly growing race? Am I willing under such conditions to renounce access to any armed resistance? I have not answered the question as yet in my own thinking."

The Greatest Apostasy

"There are enough Christians in the world today to make real and permanent the outlawry of war in twelve months unless the Christianity of this day refuses to follow Christ. It is high time the church was beginning to withdraw her chaplains, showing her faith in the action of her political governments and her courage in paralleling their adventure. *Chaplains are a part of the military.* They should give way to voluntary religious workers in the army and navy. Military chaplains must present a compromised Christ to the soldiers, otherwise the armies would refuse to fight. Genuine acceptance of Christ would forthwith undermine the morale to deliberately murder one's fellows.

"It is as impossible to identify the living Christ with the transactions of the battlefield as it is with the transactions of a speakeasy. I am unable to see anything shocking in this comparison. The shocking factor is the identification of Christ with war. The greatest apostasy of Christendom is the attempt to drag Christ, uniformed and titled, into the wholesale murder of his brethren, as long ago they hauled him up before the Roman governor and sent him to Calvary for crucifixion. I am not saying this about the chaplains personally. They are simply parts of a system and it is the system that I contend ought to be abolished."—*Dr. Peter Ainslie in The Christian Union Quarterly, July 1930.*

Soldiers Need Spiritual Counsel

"This question hardly seems worthy of the eminent names affixed to the letter enclosing the questionnaire," writes John B. Matthews, of Fort Scott, Kansas. "Could a physician conscientiously serve in a community stricken with scarlet fever or smallpox? I suppose the question assumes that the function of an army chaplain in time of war would be merely to whip up the fighting spirits of the men—a rather long view to take of the sacred calling of the ministry. Reverend gentlemen, where is your imagination? . . . Knowing that the future depended largely upon such young men, could a clergyman fail to see that the army at such a time would be the field in greatest need of his ministrations?"

Charles H. Frick, of Kingston, Pennsylvania, says: "Permit me to feel red-headed at two suggestions: The questionnaire seems not to recognize the fact that the soldier is the victim of circumstance and not one who chooses to be a collective murderer. As a victim of circumstance he should be the object of our concern and sympathy. If ever a poor boy needs the comfort and assurance of religion it is when he is pushed into the hell of war; and to desert him then—well, I can't swear, so will say nothing. The greatest insult I can imagine to Christ is to keep Him from those who need Him most, and those the ones who go to the front in our stead. (Remember the chaplain is refused the right to be a combatant.)"

Frederick P. Houghton, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, writes: "Any presentation of this question makes me see 'red.' I was an army chaplain overseas during the war. I am today a Division Chaplain in the National Guard of Pennsylvania. I do not believe in war

any more than I believe in stealing or killing in peace time, which we call murder, nor do I believe in prostitution. Yet we have 'red light districts' into which I do not refuse to go when called to an inmate who is seriously ill or dying. We have prisons, and I have gone many times to minister to those who are so unfortunate as to be housed there. Now why should I refuse to minister to men and boys who are in a war in which possibly they no more believe than I do, when they are suffering from injuries, etc."

Chaplains Are Part of War System

"I served as a chaplain in the last World War and feel I was of great service to the men and introduced many of them to Christ," writes G. W. Whyman, of Springfield, Ohio. "I think I would not enlist as a chaplain again for one sanctions war by entering the service. I felt the government used us not so much for the service we could render the men but for the sanction that the church gave to the government in its war policies. I have seen the hellishness of war. There is so much evil done by war and its after-effects have so many evil tendencies, that I do not believe the church is ever justified in going to war. It may be that the state might be justified in going to war, but war is so un-Christian that certainly no church can in any way again give its sanction to war."

Charles Philip Harder, Kenoza Lake, New York, declares: "If being an official army chaplain means serving as a mouthpiece for official propaganda, my answer to this question is unquestionably no, and I doubt that any chaplain not completely sold on the righteousness of a war would (or could) remain long in active service. However, I believe that the ministry of the Church of Christ is to suffering humanity wherever it may be found, and the fact that men are engaged in a bloody conflict into which they have been led, or misled, ought not to deter a Christian minister from ministering to their direst spiritual as well as physical needs. If I could save men without reference to the moral and ethical aspects of the war in which they were engaged I would serve." "I had enough enthusiasm as a chaplain 1918, but the optimism was not based on the facts," says Henry W. Stoody, of Cincinnati.

"If the chaplaincy meant nothing more than loyal ministry in the name of Christ, that would be all right," says Frank M. Toothaker, of Hynes, California. "I doubt that in wartime any such ethereal state of mind could be maintained as long as one is under the command of superiors whose one aim must be to destroy the enemy." Wm. M. Forsyth, of Cedar City, Utah, writes: "I put in two years, 1917-1919, overseas, and I know what war is. No, I don't ever want to see anything like it again. As for your question, 'Would I be willing to serve as a chaplain'—No, a thousand times NO!"

War May Be Defensive

"We need not think that we are going to do away with war," declared O. E. Kinzler, of Moffit, North Dakota. "As long as there is sin in the world there will be war. We should do all we can to prevent it. We might as well say we will do away with night, then light our city and community with electricity and have light. There will be light, but the night is there just the same. Let us do our best against this great evil. Then when it does come upon us we can thank God that we did our best."

Wilbur E. Schoonhoven, of Long sland City, writes: "As an American of over 250 years' standing, in whose veins flows the blood of Dutch 'Beggars', French Hugenots, Scotch Covenanters, and English Puritans, who gave all for liberty, civil and religious, and as one who believes that as human nature and civilization are now constituted, that there are times when the gospel of justice and righteousness must be preached by shotted cannon and fixed bayonet; and also believing that there will be no warless world until He shall come whose right it is to reign, you will appreciate my answers to the accompanying questions. As to America entering the League of Nations, it would be an act of political and national suicide." Donald M. Grant, of Buffalo Village, Pennsylvania, writes: "I sometimes wonder how some men can escape arrest and imprisonment, being convicted by their own utterances as disloyal to the Government of the United States of America. Much of the propaganda now being carried on by certain organizations under the guise of the church is little short of treason, and is as surely playing into the hands of revolutionists and anarchists as any of the 'red' literature emanating from bolshevik quarters, and someone must be held responsible."

"To answer the last four other than I have, would seem to me to be treason against a Christian nation," writes F. H. Petersime, of Vallejo, California. "Under Southern skies lay four great uncles and one grandfather who died for national preservation. All were Christians and Methodists. Six of my ancestors died for liberty of their country and one signed the Declaration of Independence. My son took four years of military training in high school and it hasn't hurt him. I know so long as sin and hate are to be found in pagan nations, there is sure to be war. If war, then I would rather my boy be prepared to protect himself and the helpless. Thousands died in the World War because pacifist agitators were constantly opposing preparedness. Better discharge our police in every city and throw our homes open to brigands as to weaken our protection from briganding nations. I have no desire for war. I want peace if possible. But I do not want peace so badly as to make me commit treason against a blood-bought freedom given me by my nation. If some preachers who are yelping peace all the while would really face their task as messengers of salvation, they would be terribly busy. My observation has been that when war does show up, those fellows make the loudest noise about their patriotism."

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No Justifiable Distinction

"Attached to the Ministry of Information 1918, I know that words can be made to mean anything; so the matter of 'aggressive' or 'defensive' is hardly worth discussing," writes Ernest Heywood, of Guilford, Maine. "Make it impossible for war to be declared until after a most searching conference with all cards on the table and you will have more difficulty in spoiling peace." Henderson L. V. Shinn, of Indianapolis, says: "My reason for answering 'No' to this question is that I cannot conceive, especially in the light of our present and more recent international experiences, of any nation making an attack upon us provided we had made an earnest and adequate effort to settle the controversy by pacific means on a basis of justice. The days of piracy are over." "So far as the United States is concerned, the distinction is purely academic," declares Charles F. Carson, Milwaukee. "In the next war, if we are technically attacked, it will be by those upon whom our international financiers are now making war."

An outline of his position has been given by Marion Franklin Ham, of Reading, Massachusetts, as follows: "The people of the United States have had their opportunity to take effective measures against war. They have deliberately turned away from such means as are at hand. They have refused to enter the League of Nations. By their present apathy and indifference they are now refusing to enter the World Court. Apparently they do not care enough about averting war to make any attempt, beyond signing a peace pact, to provide a workable substitute for war. It is very clear, therefore, that if another war, either 'aggressive' or 'defensive', comes upon the people of the United States, the responsibility will rest upon them, and not upon any so-called aggressor nation or nations. The citizens of a community who neglect or refuse to provide adequate fire protection must be held responsible when the town burns down. For this reason, I feel that no valid distinction can be made in the case of the United States between aggressive and defensive war. We shall be responsible in the future for any kind of war in which we may engage; and I could not conscientiously have any part in it."

"The question of war is one the church has long neglected to answer emphatically," in the opinion of Marion E. Tinsler, of Cairo, Ohio. "We have been sitting with one foot on each side of the fence. . . . A church that claims to be offensive and defensive for the principles of Jesus cannot do otherwise than stand squarely and firmly in opposition to the use of physical force in the attempt to settle disputes, whether they be personal or national. Whether a war be 'aggressive' or 'defensive' makes no difference; it is still contrary to the principles of Jesus." Joseph R. Swain, of Naugatuck, Connecticut, writes: "A few feet from my study desk a German cabinet maker is at work. He was a machine gunner in the late war. He fought against American troops in France. The other day I said to him: 'During the war we were enemies. It was your duty to kill me and my duty to kill you, so the militarists told us. But why should I kill you and you kill me? I am your friend and I desire your friendship. We can be mutually helpful and useful to each other.' He replied in broken English, 'That's it! Why should we fight and kill each other—only for militarists and rich people to get richer? Germany and America are both alike.' The common people are learning. I, therefore, doubt if 'defensive' war is justified or if any war is purely for defense. Clearly, war is *poor* defense."

Economic Perils to World Peace

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

IT is a sad and significant commentary on the Western world that the policies which are most needed to bring convalescence and health to its common life have least chance of general acceptance. Good people everywhere continue to express their abhorrence of war and their desire for peace; yet they refuse to entertain political and economic ideas which have become the *sine qua non* of decent international relations. Everyone wants peace, but there are only a few who are willing to pay the price which peace demands.

It is hardly necessary to argue at this late hour that the real root of international conflict lies in the sphere of economics. Racial prejudice and bigotry may aggravate the animosity between nations, but their basis lies in a conflict of economic interest. A general world-wide depression naturally accentuates the economic antagonisms which have previously existed, just as the depression in our own country has made the problem of race relations more difficult by increasing the resentment of the whites who feel themselves in competition with Negroes for jobs and wages.

The chief economic perils to the peace of the world at the present time are tariff barriers, reparations, and the expanding Russian economy. The first of these —the tariff problem—is becoming constantly more urgent. Each nation, suffering from economic depression, snatches instinctively at tariff protection as a way out of its difficulty and thereby complicates the total problem of an interdependent world. Continental Europe is unable to arrive at any kind of understanding in regard to the tariff, in spite of the generally recognized necessity of creating a large free trade area before business and industry can revive. The leadership of France in the general scheme of tariff reform creates suspicion in both Germany and Italy against the effort to establish continental free trade. These nations fear that France will use a new economic covenant as a means of enforcing her hegemony on the continent, and that is no doubt one of her purposes. Germany has answered the French maneuvers by a new scheme of her own. Her customs union with Austria, which is likely to be extended into the Balkans, may easily become the basis of a wide-flung economic conflict between France and her satellites on the one hand, and Germany and her new economic allies on the other. There is a suggestion, too, that the proposed trade agreement between Germany and Austria will include the Soviet government, thereby creating an alliance of

the unsatisfied nations of the continent and designed to achieve the economic recovery of Central Europe, an end which French policy seeks to frustrate. England, long the home of free trade, is inclined more and more to try to save herself in a world filled with tariff barriers by erecting a few of her own. The general result of all these maneuvers is to stop the free exchange of goods and to retard the economic recovery of Europe and the world.

America's high tariff walls, which seemed for a time to defy the experience of civilization, are beginning to have the usual effect. Other peoples will not continue to buy from us if they can not sell us their goods. Heretofore we have sold approximately a billion dollars' worth of goods per year more than we bought chiefly because we were able to invest the difference in foreign securities. While the need for American credits will make such a policy possible for some time to come, it is obvious that the psychological effect of our tariff and prosperity will ultimately destroy our markets. We are already building factories in other countries in order to produce goods behind tariff walls which were erected by way of reprisal against our own. In spite of the fact that 1930 was a year of depression, American finance increased its holdings in the foreign market to the extent of $1,550,056,000. As long as the outside world absorbs this much credit from the United States and as long as we are in a position to give it, we may be able to continue the un-mutual policy of refusing to buy from other nations in proportion to our sales to them. But we may also be certain that any country which assumes an attitude of political aloofness from other nations of the world while in reality it is extending its economic control over them—a power more significant in modern life than any political influence—is bound to increase the hazards of war. If we do not proceed against the whole dismal business of tariff competition with greater emotional force than is now apparent, the commercial rivalries of today are bound to become the international conflicts of tomorrow.

MORE important than the tariff question are the problems associated with reparations. The debts growing out of the World War make international relations even less mutual than do the tariff barriers. War loans and reparations demand payments to creditors which seem, from the perspective of those who must pay them, like pure tribute. They have no justification in economic interdependence of nations. They are dictated by politics, and they complicate economic relations. The governments that owe America money used that money for destructive purposes and have nothing to show for their investment. They would probably all be in revolt against our insistence upon payment were it not for the fact that they receive from Germany the amount which they must pay us. England receives a total of 180 million dollars and pays us 160 million per year. France receives 250 million and actually has a balance of half that amount left after her payments to the United States. Italy and Belgium also have balances.

The significant fact is that Germany is paying the war debts of all the nations to us plus additional sums which accrue to the benefit of the victorious countries. She is being reduced to the status of a slave nation in order to provide the Allies with the money for settling their debts to America. German payments will range from 400 to 600 million dollars annually between the years 1930 and 1965. After that, there is a gradual decrease in payments until 1987. The idea that any nation will suffer economic servitude until 1987 for a war fought in the years 1914-18 is so fantastic that it would throw doubt upon the sanity of statesmen, were it not for the fact that probably no one involved in the conference which led to such agreements seriously entertained the idea that the arrangement would actually continue over so long a period of time. On the other hand, we may be sure that nothing but war will abrogate the agreement if the United States does not relent. For if Germany ceased paying and we continued to insist upon payment, the net result would be that standards of living in the Allied nations must be permanently reduced in order to provide money for us. The whole matter resolves itself into the brutal policy of keeping a conquered nation in servitude in order that the conquerors may not fall into slavery to a more fortunate companion-in-arms.

IT is difficult to appreciate the enormity of this whole policy if it is not guaged in human terms. The man who ultimately pays the millions which flow into American coffers is the German worker. The extent of his sacrifices may be estimated if we take into consideration the fact that 92 per cent of the German people have annual incomes of less than $600. Over one-half of the workers have annual incomes of less than $300. The half-billion dollars payment per year which Germany must yield may seem to have but small effect upon their total living standards until it is remembered that reparations demand an excess of exports over imports, that an adequate export trade can be developed only by underselling other nations and that this can be accomplished only through low wages. Since 1928 real wages in Germany have been reduced by 17 per cent, and in addition the workers have lost the eight-hour day. German prices in foreign markets are low at the expense of the German worker because reparation payments sluice out all liquid capital from the German market and make money rates extremely high. German industry pays from 9 to 15 per cent for its money. Both long and short term money is much higher than in any other country. Whether high interest rates go to German or to foreign capitalists, the

real burden must be born by the German worker who equalizes the difference between these high rates and the cost of goods in the foreign market.

The fact is that a good deal of this exorbitant interest goes to foreign money, a situation which further aggravates the total problem. During the year 1930 the banks of the United States loaned $773,090,000 to German enterprises and municipalities. After subtracting maturing obligations, we find that the net increase of American holdings in Germany was $565,222,000, or a third of our total foreign investments during that year. This is an interesting figure for it shows that the ultimate effect of the reparations settlement is for the money, which Germany pays to the Allies and which the Allies pay us, to flow back into Germany as loans, thus increasing our hold upon German industry each year by about the amount of Germany's annual reparation obligations. The seriousness of this situation is apparent not only from an economic but from a political and a psychological standpoint. Here is a nation which, in spite of every heroic effort, involves itself more and more deeply each year in economic servitude. The Germans would be less or more than human if they did not resent this situation, and if they did not attribute to it even such of their internal difficulties as are not really related to the reparations settlement.

The rise of political extremism of both the fascist and the communist variety has been phenomenal in German politics during the past year. The marvel is that parliamentary government has been able to maintain itself at all. That it has done so is due chiefly to the sacrifices of the German worker whose party, the Social-Democratic party, has continued to remain loyal to the established government in spite of the temptation of extremist political philosophy. Obviously, however, parliamentary government will not continue indefinitely under such pressure. Either the German people will be forced into a fascist experiment with its offer of a military venture as a means of escape from the present servitude, or it will turn communist and seek freedom through an alliance with Russia. In either case, the peace of the world will be imperiled by such a development. And the indifference of America to this fundamental economic problem will clearly be the root of any such eventuality.

THE growing fear of Russia's economic competition is no less serious than tariff animosities and reparation absurdities. Russia's industrial life is developing rapidly, and even if she does not offer serious competition in manufactured products during the next few decades, she will inevitably aggravate the situation so far as raw materials are concerned. But a sane statesmanship in the Western world would perceive that Russia will afford a vast market at the same time that she becomes a competitor. The problem therefore is for the other nations to readjust their economic life so that they may compensate themselves for their losses by corresponding gains in the Soviet market. This is not an insoluble problem, but it is made more difficult by the fact that the political economy of almost all Western nations, particularly our own, has excluded the farmer from the circle of national prosperity. In other words, those already possessed of the wealth—the manufacturers—will benefit most by Russian markets, while those who are burdened by poverty—the farmers—will actually be harmed by them. Our failure to solve our domestic economic problem will therefore accentuate the issue of Russian competition, and we may be sure that every tin-whistle politician who refuses to face the facts of the agrarian situation will try to escape his responsibilities by arousing the farmer's hatred and fear of Russia.

Except those who love peace deal very realistically with this and other economic problems which underlie our international relationships, there is little possibility of peace in the coming decades. Yet daily we behold peace organizations, in the face of these grave issues, congratulating themselves on the Kellogg Pact. It is this kind of sentimentality among avowed peace advocates which makes it difficult to view the future with any confidence.

Military Insurance !

"The last war cost the United States $51,000,000,000, counting interest to date, according to Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury.

"As recently as 1885, $51,000,000,000 would have bought the whole United States, with everybody and everything in it, lock, stock and barrel.

"Today $51,000,000,000 would buy sixteen States like Alabama, or three enormously rich Californias, with a couple of Colorados thrown in for good measure.

"It would buy the entire State of New York—including the metropolis, wonder city of the world—and there would still be left over enough change to acquire four States like Maryland.

"If you had started throwing away dollars the day Christ was born, and had kept it up ever since at the rate of a dollar a minute without pausing either to eat or to sleep, you would only now be starting on your second billion, with 95,000 years more to go.

"At 5 per cent, fifty-one billion dollars would provide an annual income of $2,550,000,000, or enough to pension 2,125,000 old and broken-down workers at $100 a month, virtually abolishing poverty in this country.

"That is what the World War has cost you to date, and the end is not yet. Former President Coolidge estimates the total cost will be more than 100 billion dollars, or about the present value of all the States west of the Mississippi. The ransom of an empire burned up in battle."—*Wm. Philip Simms, New York Telegram, Feb. 14, 1931.*

Not in the Headlines

No Race, Creed, or Color

Ordered by W. S. F. Tatun, mayor of Hattiesburg, Miss., to vacate the City Hall unless they "cut out feeding Negroes and supplied food to unemployed white men," the Red Cross complied by moving their office supplies down on the side-walk. Within a short time they were given the use of an adjoining theatre, rent free. The local Red Cross representatve pointed out to the mayor that the Red Cross "knows no race, creed or color."

Pacifist Admitted to Citizenship

A conscientious objector to war has been admitted to citizenship in the United States. In spite of the fact that Gunnar B. Brobold, a Norwegian divinity student, said he would not take up arms for the United States, Judge James A. Lowell, of Boston, granted him final citizenship papers.

England, Asia, Africa and Way Points

New biplanes capable of carrying 38 passengers, as well as mail and freight, have been designed by the Imperial Airways, Ltd., for use between England, India, and South Africa. Eight of these new ships have been ordered, and it is expected that they will be put into service shortly. Each plane is designed to fly at an altitude of 6,000 feet on the power of any one of its three engines.

Negro Literary Prize

An annual literary prize of $1,000.00 has been created in honor of W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the *Crisis,* oldest Negro monthly magazine in America. The prize has been made possible through the generosity of Mrs. E. R. Matthews of New York whose father occupied the chair of Greek at Harvard for many years and whose grandmother was a prominent Massachusetts abolitionist. The award in 1932 will be made for fiction, in 1933 for prose non-fiction, and in 1934 for poetry. This rotation will be repeated each year thereafter.

German Writers Appeal to French

Replying to the 186 French men of letters who recently urged German intellectuals to join them in working for a Franco-German understanding, German writers issued a statement in which they declared that the two nations should join hands in serving their common cause: the creation of a new Europe. Among the signers of the German document were, Thomas Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Jacob Wassermann, Arnold Zweig, and other well known authors.

U. S. Lends Money to Needy Farmers

For the past ten years the Federal Government has been making direct loans to farmers to enable them to produce crops or feed live stock. In 1921, $2,000,000 were loaned; in 1924, $1,000,000; in 1927, $250,000; in 1930, $6,000,000. It is expected that the 1931 loan will be the largest of all. These loans are administered by the Secretary of Agriculture from regional offices established at Memphis, St. Louis, Grand Forks, and Washington. The average loan in the past has been about $250 for which five per cent interest is charged. Eighty per cent of the advances in previous years has been repaid.

War Resisters at Redlands

A group of students at the University of Redlands have organized a society to be known as Student War Resisters. Members "are determined not to support any kind of war."

Negro Doctors Appointed

Three Negro doctors have been appointed to the staffs of Detroit city hospitals by Mayor Frank Murphy. These are the first such appointments ever made in that city.

Old Age Security

Since the beginning of the 1931 legislative season, old age security laws have been introduced in 32 state legislatures. Of these, five have already been passed in the following states: Delaware, Idaho, Minnesota, Wyoming, and Indiana.

World Conference for Peace

Washington, D. C., has been selected as the scene of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion which will meet in November 1932. It is expected that the conference will be attended by delegates from every continent, representing all the major religious groups. The Christian groups will include Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant members.

Army Officers Cannot Be Editors

Under the terms of the "War Department Association Act, 1932", passed by the last Congress, active army officers or enlisted men are prohibited from being connected with the various service publications, such as the Infantry Journal, the Cavalry Journal, the Field Artillery Journal, the Coast Artillery Journal, the Military Engineer, the Army Ordinance, the Quarter-Master Review, and the Military Surgeon.

Moscow Mothers and Children

The health of mothers and children is taken care of in Moscow by the Institute of Mother and Child Welfare. Several thousand bottles of milk prepared under a physician's prescription are distributed each morning to the infants of the city. The Institute also includes a training school for nurses who are specializing in child welfare, an experimental nursery where working mothers may leave their children, and a department of birth control research.

Unemployment Insurance in Rochester

Fourteen different business concerns in Rochester, N. Y., have established coöperative unemployment insurance for their 26,000 employees. Under the terms of the plan, the employers set aside two per cent of their annual payrolls to provide a reserve fund from which unemployment benefits will be available for distribution after January 1, 1933. The plan is financed entirely by the employers. In an emergency, however, a one per cent levy can be made on all officials and employees not receiving benefits, to which the company will add an equal amount to increase their reserve fund.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Stands unreservedly against WAR and the WAR SYSTEM

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation began in England soon after the outbreak of the World War as a movement of protest against war and of faith in a better way than violence for the solution of all conflict. They believe that love, such as that seen preeminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide for personal conduct under all circumstances; and they seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Most of the members have joined because of their desire to follow unswervingly the way of life exemplified by Jesus; some have received their inspiration from other religious leaders; and some have reached their faith in love and non-violence in still other ways.

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They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

They endeavor to show reverence for personality —in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities and races;

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Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson

She's in the Army Now!

DALLAS, Tex., April 10.—As honorary colonel of the United States Army, Helen Kane, boop-doop-a-doop actress, today was under promise to defend the Constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic. The actress became Colonel Kane, of the 411th Field Artillery, in a ceremony on the Palace Theatre stage last night. An order announcing that the officers of the unit reposed special trust in her valor, patriotism and integrity was read.—*United Press Dispatch.*

Intoxicated Conceit

The learned men and the literary men, often themselves intoxicated by their own enthusiasms, never put their books to a worse use than when they filled each people with a conceit of its own super-eminent gifts and merits.—*Viscount Bryce, Race Sentiment as a Factor in History, p. 31.*

Skeletons in Every Closet

All governments have skeletons in their closets. All large nations have Hun records. All have oppressed weaker peoples. All have nasty national traits. Every Power can be shown by an enemy, on the basis of its own acts, to be a menace to civilization. Hence the ease with which governments create popular support for the war which was unthinkable yesterday.—*Ludwell Denny in America Conquers Britain, p. 6.*

From a Former Secretary of State

The review which I have made has shown that all the foreign wars in which we have engaged were brought on by our own precipitate action, that they were not inevitable, and that they might have been avoided by the exercise of prudence and conciliation. Our history also shows that during our whole life as an independent nation no country has shown toward us a spirit of aggression or a disposiiton to invade our territory . . . our second foreign war—that with Mexico—was provoked on our part . . . (in 1898) the war was forced upon Spain by us, and it might easily have been avoided with honor.—*John W. Foster, former Secretary of State, War Not Inevitable, 1910, pp. 14, 6, 9.*

Europe in These Days of Peace

More and more the new Europe is becoming like the old. The diplomatic war of ententes and alliances is already on. To the Francophile Little Entente Mussolini opposes a new grouping of Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, and, possibly, Greece. He almost openly offers Germany an alliance based on Treaty revision. And on both sides of every frontier, in the ports of every sea, the armies and the navies are making ready against the day. These things are not a call to despair, but a call to action. If the peace of the world, if the civilized world itself, is to be saved, the efforts of the peacemakers must be redoubled, the war against warmongers waged ceaselessly and relentlessly.—*The Daily Herald, London, October 28, 1930.*

There'll Be Hell!

Speaking as a man who knows his underworld, I predict that the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment will precipitate an unparalleled orgy of crime, the opinions of the wets, reputable and otherwise, to the contrary notwithstanding. Every underworld buzzard knows what will occur if prophibition is ditched, and they're preparing for it. A former cracksman, now a noted gun-toting beer-runner, said to me recently: "Roscoe," he said, "there'll be hell in this country if they ditch prohibition."—*An Ex-Criminal, in Scribner's, March 1931.*

The Humane Allies

Here's a pleasant tit-bit which ought to be framed in gold. The French Staff reports that they captured 2,000 of the rotten breed of Germans, pumped them dry of information, disarmed them, and then packed them off down a communication trench. A Zouave or two were waiting round a traverse and as each Deutsche filed past he was gracefully and neatly despatched. The French don't want prisoners; all they want is scalps.—*Captain C. Murray Childe, quoted in War Letters of Fallen Englishmen, edited by Laurence Housman.*

Why Octopus Suckers?

If then we have—most of us most of the time—got beyond the baseness of thinking and expecting the worst of individual humans close to us, why are the octopus suckers of international prejudice still so firmly fastened in the depths of our hearts? We can think of Roland Emmet as a fellow-human; why do we lump together millions of other fellow humans, as comic or objectionable Frenchmen, Germans, Englishmen? If we could find out the bad mental habits back of that injustice perhaps we could find a way to pry those hateful tentacles loose—at least from our own hearts. And that would be worth doing. For as long as they are fixed there, they suck away every faint beginning of international understanding and friendliness. Our unconscious hostility to a foreigner merely because he is a foreigner wedges the nations apart.—*Dorothy Canfield, in Harper's, March 1931.*

Dynamite or Opium?

There is timeless truth in George Bernard Shaw's words, "The prophet is useful only so long as he is stoned as a public annoyance, calling us to repentance, disturbing our comfortable reluctance, breaking our respectable idols, shattering our sacred convictions." Set beside these noble words in inglorious contrast the words of a prominent churchman instructing canvassers for funds for building an American cathedral: "Go to the men who command great wealth either in their own right or in the trust funds which they administer. Tell them that the Cathedral and the presence of the religion which it symbolizes is the guarantee of the continuance of the social order on which their prosperity depends. Tell them that religion is the insurance of their prosperity and ask them whether they think they are paying enough for their insurance."—*Halford E. Luccock, Jesus and the American Mind, p. 195.*

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The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

An Arsenal for Peace Workers

National Defense: A Study of the Origins, Results and Prevention of War. By Kirby Page. Farrar and Rinehart. $3.00.

AMONG the many volumes on war which pour from the press, this by Mr. Page deserves special consideration. It is, indeed, not so much a book as an arsenal, if so military a figure may represent so pacific a treatise. Mr. Page has given us a minimum of himself and a maximum of exhibits from original sources, covering every conceivable aspect of war in general and of the Great War in particular. The method of the book is the skilled marshaling of evidence, the impressive massing of incident and quotation with cumulative effect, so as to make unmistakable the psychological and social attitudes which cause and sustain war.

For example, under the general heading, "Causes of the World War," the author lists such commonly recognized forces as nationalism, imperialism, militarism, chauvinism, fear, and alliances to preserve the balance of power. What gives poignancy to the treatment of these familiar forces is the effective assembling of first-hand expressions of them. Through the pages of this book moves the very mind of the generation during which the World War was fought, expressing itself in the living voices of the war's advocates and making itself explicit and impressive in a way which no impersonal discussion could ever do. One sees and feels the attitudes which make war. They are incarnate here in typical spokesmen. They carry the emotional impetus of the personalities who held them and believed them. The reader can fairly see war prepared through the very measures by which men proposed to guard against it.

Mr. Page's book is divided into four parts. After dealing with the causes of the World War, the results of the World War, and existing perils to world peace, he comes to the climax and objective of his study in part IV, "A Strategy of National Defense."

The general thesis of the volume maintains that national defense is indeed a necessary aim, but that the militaristic method of achieving it is fallacious and hopeless. For the nations to defend themselves through the war system is, in the end, for the nations to commit suicide. National security is obtainable but only by the substitution for war of such positive and constructive methods as the building up of the agencies of peace, the strengthening of the will to peace, the transforming of the doctrines of nationalism, the abandonment of imperialistic coercion, the remedying of internationalistic injustice, and the tearing-down of the war system.

The special value of this book seems to the reviewer to lie in its point of attack. It is a positive plea for a program of national defense based on non-militaristic foundations. Pleas for peace have frequently left on one side the crucial reason why militarists want war. The honest patriot who desires to see his nation armed may no more like war than the pacifist; but he thinks the nation too valuable to be lost through feebleness, and he counts it his sacred duty to defend his land. This attitude the pacifist has too commonly ignored or derided. Mr. Page treats it seriously. He, too, thinks the nation too valuable to be lost. He, too, wishes to see the national existence made secure. He attacks the militaristic mind where it really lives by massing overwhelming evidence to prove the disastrous failure of national defense on a war basis in a modern world. He has a constructive program of national defense to suggest, and he pleads for it with intelligence and passion. Along some such line as this lies the most powerful apologetic that peace lovers have at their disposal. What patriots want is national security. If they can be persuaded that peace alone will bring it, their patriotism will lose its most vital point of contact with their militarism.

The closing chapter "What Shall We Do About the War System?" is an impressive presentation of material, which extends to every public speaker on peace an invitation to plagiarism. Undoubtedly, Mr. Page will not care if the invitation is accepted. Anyway he must have found this extraordinary mass of quotations somewhere else than in his own brain. He did not make it up. He has collected great guns and blazing dynamite for the pacifist.

While, however, his method has been thus to assemble first-hand expressions of opinion to illustrate the moods, ideas, and attitudes which cause war or achieve peace, the texture and structure of the argument throughout the book is strong and consistent. The impression accumulates overwhelmingly that of all insane ways to defend national life war is the craziest, and that the only road to national security is peace.

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

The Financial Roots of War

Europe: The World's Banker 1780-1914. By Herbert Feis. Yale University Press. $5.00.

IN this authoritative and highly interesting volume Dr. Feis, of the Council on Foreign Relations, has presented a mass of evidence concerning the relations between foreign investments and European politics. Investments abroad were often made for political reasons and, on the other hand, foreign policy was frequently dominated by financial factors. Investments and diplomacy were interlocked. Because France desired the support of Russia, more than 11 billion francs were invested in the latter country; this vast stake in turn chained France to the Russian chariot. The foreign investment of 34 billion dollars by citizens of Great Britain, France, and Germany involved their governments in endless rivalries and conflicts in many regions of the earth. The universal practice whereby governments threw the full weight of diplomacy and armaments behind the interests of their respective capitalists transformed the financial and economic rivalry of individuals and corporations into a titanic combat between empires. The roots of the World War were nourished in international financial rivalry in the Balkans, the Turkish Empire, Persia, and North Africa.

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on dollars in other lands, and the outward flow of dollars is destined to continue for many years in the future. The nature of the governmental protection afforded our foreign investments may determine the issue of war and peace during the coming decades. In the light of Europe's ghastly experience, surely it is obvious that armed intervention and declarations of war in behalf of investments abroad should forthwith be abandoned. International financing through the League of Nations is far preferable to the coercive and provocative control exercised by national governments under the tragic system which hastened the outbreak of the World War. K. P.

Two Theologians Look at War

The Church and War. By Franziskus Stratmann, O. P. P. J. Kenedy & Sons. $2.25.

The Fall of Christianity. By G. J. Heering. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (London). $2.50.

FRANZISKUS STRATMANN, a Dominican Professor in Germany, and G. J. Heering, a Protestant Doctor of Theology in the University of Leyden, have challenged in their respective camps, the alliance of Christianity and war. Each book, having been translated into several languages, has aroused a storm of controversy. The Spirit of God is indeed stirring the waters of traditional orthodoxy when two theologians so widely apart in church training and allegiance write that "We must give up trying to square the spirit of war with the spirit of Christ; we must acknowledge that they can no more amalgamate than can fire and water", and "I want to drive a wedge between Christian thought and the theory of war . . . and ask whether it is not high time that Christians and the church set themselves against the entire way of war."

In chapters on "War and the Mystical Body" and "The Metaphysical and Moral Problem", Father Stratmann drives home the contrast between the actualities of real war and the principles of the New Testament and of the Catholic fathers. Without denying theoretical justification of war, he enumerates ten points which, if adhered to, would fulfill the conditions of a "just war" as laid down by St. Augustine, the Thomists, and Francis de Victoria; but he concludes, "If we consider the conditions which justify a war from the standard of Catholic morality we find that war is almost an impossibility."

Professor Heering's *The Fall of Christianity* is the most penetrating, comprehensive, and up-to-date study yet made of the relations between Christianity, the state, and war. After supplementing the researches of Harnak, C. J. Cadoux, and others with regard to primitive Christianity and war, Dr. Heering surveys the historical development of the momentous alliance between the church and the war-making state. "What primitive Christianity did *not* do in regard to slavery," he says, "it *did* in regard to military service—it took up a resolutely uncompromising position against it, proving that here the contrast with the Gospel was felt more sharply than in the case of slavery. The Christian church persisted in this uncompromising attitude until the fourth century."

In conclusion, Professor Heering outlines the task of modern Christianity in its battle against modern war. Historical perspective as well as inner conviction enable him to escape the usual pitfalls of a church program scaled down to political expediency and demanding only a little more than the representatives of the political state may be expected to yield. He sees clearly that Christianity is doomed as a moral guide for mankind and a force for righteousness on earth unless it can utter unequivocal judgment against such radical sin as war. The church must take its stand on principle and "make downright protest against all war and all preparations therefor as completely opposed to Christian principle." It should support the League of Nations and Kellogg Pact, but critically, withholding support, for instance, from "military sanctions," and from *"defensive"* war the character of which is not changed by adding an adjective. Organized Christianity on religious and moral grounds must choose the risk of disarmament rather than the risk of "defense"; it must eschew military imperialism and plant in the void, from which militarism is uprooted, a more rigorous ethic and a more rigorous faith in God.

Finally, the Christian individual ought to refuse war service. Disarmament agitation of political parties or labor's general strike against war will be ethically, psychologically and tactically weak unless founded on personal conscience and behavior which permeates communal morality, not the reverse.

JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Equalizing Our Society

Equality. By R. H. Tawney. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.25.

THIS book is written with all Mr. Tawney's literary grace, earnest conviction, and penetrating insight. It is, I think, less likely to be so generally popular as his former work, *The Acquisitive Society,* but it is scarcely less important as a criticism of our times. For the average American reader, it may lose a little of the weight it should have inasmuch as many of the author's shafts are leveled against a peculiar British brand of class snobbishness which does not exist in equal degree in America. Nevertheless, the inequalities of life are sufficiently evident here to give the argument full weight, even if most of the illustrations are British.

Briefly, the theme of Mr. Tawney's book is a plea for economic, political, and legal equality as the condition of the happy community and of a worthy and beautiful life for the individual. He begins with a keen analysis of the religion of inequality and the basis for it in the economic and social organization, primarily of Great Britain, but in general of the capitalist nations. He, like early idealists who eulogized an equality that it is now popular to deride in the name of biology, is concerned not with "equality of capacity or attainment, but of circumstances, institutions, and manner of life". Because men are men, social ideals and institutions "should be planned so far as is possible to emphasize and strengthen, not the class differences which divide, but the common humanity which unites them".

It is, of course, easy for Mr. Tawney to show how little inequality of ability has to do with caste and class lines, or how inequalities of outward circumstances interfere in the attainment of the good life. This theme he develops with great force in his chapter on "Inequality and Culture."

Throughout the volume he emphasizes not merely men's ideas and ideals but their present organization and the way it can be changed. Hence, although he is not primarily concerned with the whole program for Socialism, he does have some very wise and practical things to say about the extension of social services, the social control of economic power, and industry as a social function. It is to be regretted that the publishers have not provided an index, for the book contains information and statistics to which one would be glad to be able to turn easily.

However, it is not as a work of economics, much less of statistics, that *Equality* is valuable, but rather as an able and often moving restatement of the case for equality as a necessary

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third with liberty and fraternity in those things which men should most desire at the foundation of the Great Society. *Equality* is not always an easy book to read for it requires thought; and the style, while beautiful, is sometimes what we Americans colloquially term "high brow". But he who reads the book carefully can scarcely escape Mr. Tawney's conclusion: "Though the ideal of an equal distribution of material wealth may continue to elude us, it is necessary, nevertheless, to make haste towards it, not because such wealth is the most important of man's treasures, but to prove that it is not. *Sint temporalia in usu, aeterna in desiderio.* It is possible that the ultimate goods of human life, which belong to the realm where to divide is not to take away, may more easily be attained, when its instruments and means are less greedily grasped and more freely shared." NORMAN THOMAS

Religion in a Power Age

World Revolution and Religion. By Paul Hutchinson. Abingdon Press. $2.00.

PAUL HUTCHINSON, who as editor of the *Christian Century* lives at the very heart of the religious life of America and is able to guage the forces and the perils which organized religion faces as accurately as any living man, has written a disquieting book. It is a very pessimistic book. His thesis is that organized religion seems everywhere to be leagued with reaction and to be in danger therefore of dying with a dying world. In Russia, Germany, and England, in the Orient and in America, so runs his thesis, the church seems incapable of coping with the significant ethical problems of our day. In our own South and in the mission fields it has not produced an ethic sufficiently distinctive to save itself from identification with the pride and arrogance of dominant racial groups.

What Mr. Hutchinson calls for is ethical achievement relevant to the basic moral and social needs of our day. In that demand he seems to have placed his finger upon the fundamental problem of organized religion. No religion can survive without a measure of ethical achievement. The difficulty with the modern church is that it cultivates amenities in the more protected areas of society, develops spiritual and moral graces which may have a certain significance in their own right but which pale into insignificance in comparison with the brutalities of racial arrogance and economic greed by which the conscience of millions of men is outraged. Religion maintains itself, therefore, only among those classes of people in which the urgent social problems of our day are not too keenly felt—in short, in the most comfortable and least intelligent portions of our society.

Mr. Hutchinson's volume should be placed beside Harry Ward's *Which Way Religion?* Starting from slightly different points of departure, they arrive at the identical conclusion that no religion can gain power in our day which is not organically related to the struggle of modern man for brotherhood in the intricacies of a power civilization. Europeans have frequently accused the "social gospel" devotees of America of an easy optimism which assumes that a casual interest in the League of Nations and a genteel gesture of philanthropic activity will insure the realization of the kingdom of God. Hutchinson and Ward, however, are more significant as leaders of the social interest of religion in America than any of the theologians whom Europeans quote to prove their point. But we can not take too much satisfaction in that fact, for on the whole Europeans are right about us. American Christianity, particularly liberal Christianity, is organic to a world which is only slightly aware of the tragic aspects of modern life. It remains to be seen whether the vision of the few will become the conviction of the many.

The kind of dissociation of religion from the prevailing prejudices of contemporary civilization for which Mr. Hutchinson pleads presents a very difficult task. Just how is religion going to dissociate itself? The realization of the fact that it is enmeshed in the mediocrities of contemporary life may be the beginning of its emancipation. But will that be sufficient? Has religion become too anemic to live its own life and must we therefore wait upon a revival of some sort before we can set the church against the world? Or is religion—true religion—a product rather than the root of heroic moral action? I am not sure whether the author is clear in his own mind about this problem; for in the closing chapters, in which he expresses his conviction that religion will survive in spite of its weaknesses, he describes religious reactions to the mystery of life which need not be ethical at all. It is obvious that there will always be that kind of religiousness. But the question is whether there will be an ethical religion, adequate to the needs of our day, or whether the moral leadership of our generation will be compelled to disregard the church entirely.

In making this criticism of an otherwise excellent book, I mean to call attention to a weakness which is not peculiar to the thought of Mr. Hutchinson but is common among all of us who are trying to make religious resources available for the moral life of our day. We do not face the problem of the relation of morality and religion squarely enough. We cannot simply exploit the radical position of prophetic religion and try to make the attitudes of modern religion square with it. We must try to determine just what produces prophetic religion as against the conventional religiosity of most of the institutions of religion. R. N.

The Coal Situation

Labor and Coal. By Anna Rochester. International Publishers. $2.00.

THIS volume is different from other books about coal. It is one of a series on American industry that have a human purpose. They are written to show by exact data in specific cases just what capitalism is doing to the workers, what they in turn are trying to do about it, and what the writers think they ought to be doing. They seek to picture the class conflict as well as industrial facts. They are addressed to "militant workers" and their sympathizers—or to those they hope will become of this persuasion—by "militant" authors who have a great faith and a mighty hope. It is their mission to help the workers overthrow the rule of capitalism.

According to the prevailing belief, this fact should make it impossible for the authors to do intellectually respectable work. But Miss Rochester's book, like the others I have seen, makes the cult of pseudo-objectivity which often cloaks partisan work in behalf of the existing order look quite ridiculous. Here is painstaking and accurate research of the highest order. And its results are graphically alive in a picture of human values which makes clear to the reader that this business of getting the coal to run our mechanical world has become one of our major tragedies. That is how research should be used—not simply to give us the facts but to make us see what they mean.

Like the rest of us Miss Rochester shows a firmer touch in analyzing the breakdown of capitalism in the coal situation—for instance, the sham of its compensation laws and the unemployment consequences of its own efficiency—and in tracing the failure of the United Mine Workers than she does in outlining the program for the changes which are needed. One wishes that the last chap-

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er on "The Revolutionary Union and the Future" had been more carefully filled in. What the militant workers need to know—and their middle-class sympathizers—if their militancy is to get anywhere is more than the truth about how coal miners live and work in Russia. They need a realistic program, born out of the American situation and based upon the experience of its labor struggles, in order to effect a comparable position for themselves and their industry. They need to know the lines of approach to a society in which coal miners will be as well treated and as highly respected as government officials.

Phrases offer a convenient escape for all of us from the laborious job of program-building. With some it is "brotherhood", "social justice", "economic planning". With others it is "a united, militant working-class" or "the revolutionary forces of the working-class". But before these phrases can be anything more than affirmations of faith, they have to be implemented in working arrangements. The capacity to do this in detail is one of the qualities that made Lenin a great revolutionary leader; likewise, in another field, Gandhi.

Is it not time for that magic word "revolutionary" to be blueprinted in relation to the American scene? In this matter of coal, for instance, is it enough for the average reader, working-class or middle-class, militant or otherwise, to get a well documented damning of "class collaboration and business unionism"? When he then reads the concrete demands of the "revolutionary union" and remembers that these, too, will have to be guaranteed in agreements with employers, does he not need to be shown just what it is in aims and methods of this kind of union and its supporting forces that will keep it from gradually going the road of the others? Also is it necessary, or even good tactics, to exclude from these books for and about workers the distributing and consuming aspects of the industry, especially since consumption as well as production has to be organized in the classless society? If the day ever comes when everyone is a worker, we shall all be equally concerned with both aspects of the economic process which capitalism has so fatally separated. Meantime, might it not be possible to unite the middle-class more realistically with the "militant workers" by way of their consumers' interest? HARRY F. WARD

What Chance Has a Jew?

Christians Only. By Heywood Broun and George Britt. The Vanguard Press. $2.50.

THIS readable and informative study of anti-Jewish prejudice is the work of the nationally known newspaper columnist, in collaboration with a fellow member of the New York *Telegram* staff. With compelling frankness Mr. Broun heaps up facts and incidents showing the discrimination against Jews that prevails in our social, business, and educational life, in employment and housing, until one is forced to agree with H. G. Wells that race prejudice is "the worst single thing in the world now."

Some of the statements made by these authors are startling in their significance: "In general office work about 90 per cent of the jobs available are barred to Jews." "The Jew out of work who is looking for a job in New York faces odds of about ten to one against him". "The only profession I know of that does not bar Jews is the rabbinical profession," says Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Most persons of Christian background have never honestly faced the facts involved in discrimination against Jews. If Mr. Broun is right in believing that a great deal of it is due to the influence of some trivial incident in childhood, the reading of this book may contribute vitally to the self-analysis of the non-Jewish portions of our population. AMY BLANCHE GREENE

WE RECOMMEND

The History of Religions in America, by William Warren Sweet. Harper and Brothers. $4.00. A readable account of American church history by the head of the church history department in Chicago University. Of particular interest is the full and impartial analysis of the attitude of the various church bodies toward the slavery issue during the Civil War period.

The Bantu are Coming, by Ray E. Phillips. Student Christian Movement Press, London. 238 pages. $1.25. An illuminating discussion of the race problem in South Africa by a liberal missionary. A stinging indictment is drawn of the white man's crimes and vices. A convincing case is made for the kind of humanitarian and religious work done by forward looking Christians from the West.

New Girls for Old, by Phyllis Blanchard and Carlyn Manasses. Macaulay. 281 pages. $2.50. "No civilization can survive without morality," say these authors in their introduction. And on the basis of their wide experience at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, they have made a careful analysis of the psychological, social, and moral problems that confront the girl of today. Parents and teachers will find this one of the most helpful studies of its kind.

The Place of Agriculture in American Life, by Wilson Gee. Macmillan Company. $2.00. Professor Gee's book, prepared at the suggestion of Charles A. Beard, is a non-technical introduction to rural affairs. The transition to commercial and mechanized agriculture is sketched, and social and economic conditions are briefly treated. There is a lively chapter on "The Farmer and Politics" in which the author suggests that "in case the present farm distress is not relieved, it may quite certainly be predicted that the farming interests of the nation will be forced to combine without respect to which side their parents fought upon in the Civil War, but with regard to their economic interest. . . ." A good deal of information is given about the progress and limitations of economic coöperation in agriculture. There follows a good statement on "Why Farm Relief?"

International Understanding: Agencies Educating for a New World, by John Eugene Harley. Stanford University Press. 604 pages. $7.50. An extremely valuable reference work for anyone interested in internationalism. The author has compiled schools, colleges, and other academic institutions in various countries, associations such as the F.P.A., the Pan-American Union, and the International Labor Office, clubs such as International House in New York and La Cité Universitaire de Paris, summer vacation institutes and travel bureaus, and general agencies such as the World Student Christian Federation, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and the International Federation of University Women—all engaged in one way or another in promoting international-mindedness. He discusses their scope and methods, their advantages and weaknesses, and he concludes by giving the reader several useful appendixes containing lists of scholarships and fellowships available to students both in the United States and in other countries.

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WHEN Einstein met a group of fifty War Resisters in the salon of the S.S. *Deutschland,* March 4th, as he was on the point of departure from America, each member wore on his coat a little button bearing the inscription, "2%."

It seemed to me that these buttons happily dramatized Einstein's important idea so forcibly presented in a recent number of THE WORLD TOMORROW—the idea that if you can get only two per cent of the population to assert in time of peace they will not fight, you will end war. The button thus means: 1. No conscription; 2. Refusal to have any part in war.

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Anyone interested in utilizing this suggestion may obtain "2%" buttons from the War Resisters League, 7511 34th S.W., Seattle, Wash., or from any one of the following organizations in New York City: Arbitrator, 114 East 31st St.; Fellowship of Reconciliation, Bible House, Astor Pl.; New History Society, 132 East 65th St.; War Resisters League, 171 West 12th St.; Women's Peace Society, 20 Vesey St. Price: 6 for 25 cents; 100 for $1.25; 500 for $6.00 postpaid.

New York City SYDNEY STRONG

Rabbi Silver's Book

IN Howard Y. Williams' review of *Religion In A Changing World,* carried in your March issue, he makes certain observations which seem to me to be either in error or at least open to sharp difference of opinion. I refer to his statement that the addresses included in Rabbi Silver's book are "gloriously safe." Since his reference has to do chiefly with the chapter on "The Church and Social Justice," I may be pardoned for pointing out that Rabbi Silver's career has been marked by a persistent fight in Cleveland for the abolition of the "yellow dog" contract, the unjust use of injunctions, and the right of workers to bargain collectively. These are the points on which Mr. Williams finds nothing definite in the Rabbi's book. Considering the background of the man, however, I do not see anything particularly safe about many passages in the book, especially on pages 55 and 61, or the following on page 67: "Can the church survive prosperity? It is not so difficult after all to be a voice crying in the wilderness. It is far more difficult to be a voice—clear and courageous—crying for justice amid the pomp and splendor and costliness of a Temple or a Cathedral, which is built and supported by those who must often become the very target of the voice's invective. But the church must do just that. It must deliberately choose the 'via dolorosa'—the hard road of conflict and persecution. Else it will become a tragic futlity in modern life. Thoughtful men will turn away from it and will seek their light and leading elsewhere, and the youth of the world will come to regard it as a mere survival, an anachronism, interesting but irrelevant."

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ANNOUNCEMENTS

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THE War Resisters League will hold its second annual conference on Militant Pacifism at Hudson Guild Farm, Netcong, New Jersey, May 8, 9, 10th. Among the subjects for discussion are: "Techniques in the Fight for Peace," "War Resisters Here and Abroad," "War Resistance as War Prevention," "Gandhi and the Pacifist Revolution," and "Lessons from the Air Manoeuvers." Further details may be obtained from Jessie Wallace Hughan, 171 West 12th Street, New York City.

Sixth Seminar in Mexico

THE Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, announces that the Sixth Annual Session of the Seminar in Mexico will be held in Mexico City, July 4-24, 1931. Membership in this "cooperative study of the life and culture of the Mexican people" is open to a representative group of North Americans. Previous Seminars in Mexico have been attended by over 400 men and women.

Among the leaders of round tables for the Sixth Seminar are Judge Florence Allen of the Supreme Court of Ohio; Mr. Carleton Beals, author of *Mexico: An Interpretation;* Professor Charles W. Hackett of the University of Texas; Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, author of many books on Latin America; Dr. Eyler Simpson of the Institute of Current World Affairs; Dr. Frank Tannenbaum, author of *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution;* Rev. R. A. McGowan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

Numerous field excursions are included in the Seminar program, as well as optional trips for small groups to other parts of Mexico and Nicaragua.

A pamphlet describing the Seminar and its membership requirements may be secured from Hubert C. Herring, Executive Director of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, 112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y.

Summer School for Peace Workers

UNDER the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, the second Institute for International Relations will be held, June 8th to 20th, at Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. Three basic courses on the economic, political, and spiritual aspects of the struggle for world peace will be offered by Herbert F. Fraser, Professor of Economics at Swarthmore College, Edward W. Evans, member of the Philadelphia Bar, Leyton Richards, pastor of the Carr's Lane Church, Birmingham, England, and Henry J. Cadbury, Professor of Biblical Literature at Bryn Mawr College. In addition there will be a special course in the technique of creating attitudes of good-will in local groups, young people's summer conferences, communities, etc. Other short courses will take up current international issues, how attitudes are created in children, and military training and its effect on world peace. The plan of the Institute will be the usual one of classes in the morning, recreation and fellowship in the afternoon, lectures in the evening. Among the evening speakers will be James G. MacDonald, Chairman of the Foreign Policy Association; Frederick Libby, Executive Secretary of the National Council for Prevention of War; and Norman Thomas, Executive Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy.

For further information write to the American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

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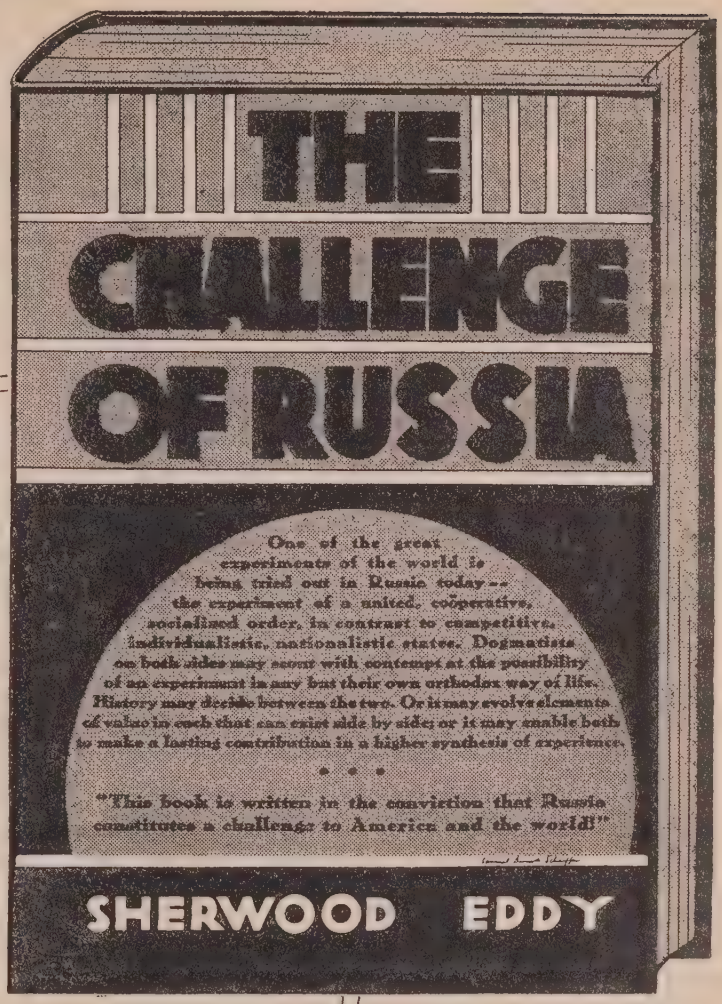
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The Last Page

MOST people are kind to travelers; but some, unfortunately, are kinder than others. One, thus far, has stood out from the multitude—nay, even walked out to meet me.

Along London's famous Whitehall, for some reason no American could fully comprehend, the authorities have retained through many a year the celebrated Horse Guards. It may be that this serves today as a device to ameliorate the squalors of the unemployed; for usually at each change of the guards—which, take it from me, is an elaborate ritual of tourism—there are numerous idlers gazing wistfully through the arched stone gates leading to Buckingham Palace. Some of these curious ones watch silently, worshipfully almost; here, arrayed in splendid gear, straddling proud horseflesh, sit for an hour at a stretch the finest flowers of British whatchacallit. Many a passing maiden has been heard to gasp painfully as her coy glances reeled back from the glorious sight of these uniformed youths, whose respendent *balmasque* costumes would make even the taxi-caller of the Ritz-Carlton lose heart and give up the ghost. Some of the onlookers, however, lounge against the cold stone walls dressed in clothes that never did look distinguished in the right sense of the word, and have long since collapsed from cynical contacts with the disillusionments of life. These men appear to be lost in quizzical rumination, and it is from them that some day, when they go just a little further and laugh right out loud, will come the cleansing of the stables. Always, too, though rarely in the background, will be seen gaily-garbed voyagers. Most of these hail from God's own country where men are men, and the accent is on the own. Looking with one eye as if this simply coudn't be true, they peer surreptitiously with the other eye into the pages of their guidebooks.

The Changing of the Guards is a far-famed ceremony. It occurs twice daily. That is why it is so justly celebrated; for usually, in England, a thing is changed only twice every hundred years—and even then there are not wanting plenty of mourners in the House of Lords who make it plain that everything worth while is simply skidding into the gutter.

• • •

BUT I, of course, was as none of these. In my customary cosmic speculation, I stood and queried of my Philosophical Nature what could be the judgment regarding this sort of business pronounced by an observer looking upon it through a gigantic telescope from the far rim of our wandering universe. In fact, with man's eternal egotism, I do not hesitate to confess that my opinion was probably the same.

But for the purpose of the present narrative (as story writers say when they know the editor doesn't pay at space rates), it is enough to mention simply that I stood. Seeing me thus, and noting, very likely, that my trousers were neatly creased and that my face wore a pleasant smile, a small man—or perhaps I ought to say, a still smaller man—came up and hailed me cheerfully. Now he could never know that my trousers had just been pressed for the first time in many weeks, nor could he have guessed, not being cosmic in the range of his thought, the real reason for my benignity. He had doubtless sized me up as a gentleman, and I, in my turn, thinking that our acquaintance would be brief, let it go without correction.

"Very interesting, isn't it?" he inquired. "Have you been through the gates?" "No," I replied, graciously, "but I have been through a great deal." "Even so," he commented, sympathetically, "why don't you come in and take a look around." This was sporting, if the fellow owned the place; and if he didn't, he was certainly generous of nature. I went in. "In," I found, was rather vast.

"I should be only too glad," he said, "to point out any points of interest. Now there," he pointed, "is Number Ten Downing Street, historic residence of the Prahme Minister, where the members of his cabinet meet to consider the affairs of state. Off this way, a bit to your left as you stand—pardon me, Sir, but will you kindly turn a bit more this way?—you will see the India Office. Over in this direction—do you mind facing thus? 'kyou, Sir—you will look upon the famous Gardens of Whitehall—see, 'way across there?—where from 1873 to 1875, a period of two years, dwelt Benjamin Disraeli, a famous British Premier. On each anniversary of the King's Birthday, there on the Parade Ground, takes place the ancient and colorful Trooping [illegible] the Colors" (he quite correctly, pronounced it "colours"), "a ceremon which occurs every year. "Now those cupolas yonder," he went [illegible] after drawing a deep breath which almost made him say "Yon" li an Elizabethan poet, "crown the buildings of the Admiralty, as inte esting as it is famous. Far off in distant seas, His Majesty's wa ships are guided in their intricate maneuvers, and, er, their maneuver by messages flashing out through space from yon (suspiration) d wireless towers."

• • •

HERE he stopped to examine my face anxiously, as an anaestheti feels the pulse of a patient for the first signs of a weakenin heart. I doubt if he saw anything at all revealed there, for my rea tions, I am certain, were wholly negative. Behind that immobile cou tenance, nevertheless, my brain was agitated. A Great Question w beginning to take shape in my mind, and I didn't particularly like t shape of it. Having reached the certainty that all this was ve peculiar, since never before in all human experience was there a pe son who could tell you anything about his native city, I awoke to fi my kind companion smiling reassuringly.

"Yes," he resumed, as if in response to a definite interrogatio though I was not aware of having propounded any, "it is the beaut ful triple archway under which pass all official processions fro Buckingum Pahlace to Wustmenster. Note especially the delicatel wrought gates, made of iron and bronze, which were designed by S Aston Webb." We had moved along rapidly until, though I wa hardly conscious of it, we had emerged on one side of Trafalga Square. I concluded it was time to come, as it were, to an unde standing.

"Now all this," said I, seizing his hand and pumping it cordiall "has been mighty good of you. I appreciate it. It has helped m wonderfully. I shall, in fact, never be the same man again. B how can I, er, ever repay you for your generous aid?" To that o came the reply with the same old dauntless speed. "Why," h smirked, "since you have liked it, Sir, how about two bob?"

• • •

"WHAT," I cried, "a measly fifty cents? Perish the thought Out upon it! Egad, Sir! Gadzooks! Marry come up Shucks! Dear, dear! A fig for your scruples! I would not have thought that with me, as with some Americans, money is everythin The gift without the giver is bare, you know—even when clothed i the finest language." I certainly had him blinking. He was carrie away by my mounting enthusiasm. At any rate I linked my ar firmly in his and strode not ungracefully out in the Square.

"Now up there," I indicated, bending both our heads back so th we could see, could we have seen over the edge of Nelson's shoe, " Nelson—Nelson, England's savory savior. This granite column wa erected to Lord Horatio by a grateful people. What? I know it soun fishy, but I can't help that. It is, as you can see, in Corinthian styl with those acanthus-leaf doo-dads wreathed around the capital. rises sheer from the protecting quartet of lions by Landseer, no few than one hundred and sixty-eight feet, six and one-one-hundredt inches. Nelson himself stands seventeen feet in height; can you wo der that Lady Hamilton fell for him? And now, if you will kind turn this way, you will. . . . Eh? What?"

My erstwhile mentor was sagging on my arm. His mouth ha developed gray patches at the corners. His eyes were bulging. H whole face wore the horrified expression of a man confronted wit his first artichoke. I let go of him, and he tottered drunkenly o towards St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, sometimes called the Admiral Church, erected by James Gibbs between 1721 and 1726. Brushin off my sleeve, limbering up my neck, and stepping forth under the su which was probably there, though I hadn't seen it for three weeks, reflected that, after all, these little exchanges of friendliness are wha keep this hard old world from gloom and cheerlessness. Yes, one goo turn deserves another—and occasionally gets it, too.

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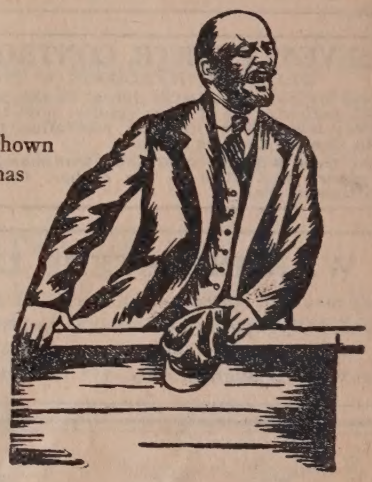

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